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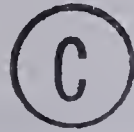
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING IN CANADA

by



Barry O. Hawryluk

A THESIS
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Uniform Crime Reporting in Canada submitted by Barry O. Hawryluk in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

DEDICATION

To my wife Cheryl, whose patience was without limit;
to my son Gregory, who is too young to understand;
and to my parents who taught me the value of knowledge.

ABSTRACT

Concerns have been long existent with respect to the efficacy of criminal statistics. One of the major difficulties in conducting criminological research is that it is not known how representative the number of offences known to the police is of the total crime universe. Traditional efforts to substantiate the veracity of official data have come from a comparison of statistical information to such things as victimization surveys, self-report studies, and so forth. It has been found that, notwithstanding limitations to official data, alternate study methods contribute little more to our knowledge of crime than do the more accessible criminal statistics. Clearly, the statistics submitted on crime by the police community are extremely important.

This thesis attempts to examine the historical problem of the accuracy of criminal statistics from a much different perspective. It examines the accuracy of statistical reports completed by the police on crime that is known to them.

The rules and procedures to be followed in coding offence information are dictated by the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. This document contains coding rules which are vague, inconsistent, and contradictory. Further, in some cases much needed direction and information on how to properly code offence information has been omitted. Research into how much and how often crime gets reported is necessary, but if no attention is directed at these coding rules then the value of conducting research on the broader issues is questionable - especially if

these rules jeopardize the accuracy of the data that are being submitted.

This research outlines the history of uniform crime reporting in Canada and then goes on to highlight areas in the reporting of crime that have traditionally occupied researchers. Virtually no attention has been paid to the specific rules and regulations governing the coding of crime that are dictated by this Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.

A close examination is conducted of selected uniform crime reporting rules and procedures. Sections which are vague, inconsistent, or contradictory, are identified as are areas lacking necessary coding direction. On the basis of these areas, nine offence descriptions were formulated. Two additional offence descriptions were included which were based on UCR instructions felt to be clear and concise. These eleven coding exercises were then distributed to some 35 RCMP Detachments throughout Alberta.

The results of this survey revealed that those exercises based on clear, concise coding requirements were coded by respondents with greater accuracy and consistency than were the exercises based on rules which were not as clear. This variation suggests that criminal statistics submitted by a major Alberta police agency are extremely inaccurate and that the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual contributes to this inaccuracy.

On the basis of this research, fifteen recommendations for change were made to the coding manual. If adopted, these changes would serve to correct some fundamental problems with this coding document. The result will be greater accuracy and

comparability in criminal statistics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research would not have been possible without the co-operation of those men and women of the RCMP who took the time to complete the questionnaires. I am grateful to them for their efforts. The chapter on the history of crime reporting in Canada could not have been written without assistance from the Judicial Statistics Division of Statistics Canada and in particular Mrs. Helen Lacey. Their co-operation was invaluable.

The guidance received from the members of my committee was exceptional. The efforts of Doctors T. Hartnagel, R.A. Silverman, and R. MacLeod was greatly appreciated. Finally, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the value of the moral support and encouragement I have received since entering Graduate Studies. Staff Sergeant Stanley E. Pixley of the Planning Branch, "K" Division RCMP, deserves my special thanks along with Mr. A. Sangadasa and Dr. P. Saram. To these people I am deeply indebted.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I: THE PROBLEM

Imagine studying chemistry, physics, or geometry without devices of measurement. Similarly, imagine tennis, hockey, or football without statistics. Statistics and measurement are equally vital to the study of crime. Their role is becoming increasingly more important within the decision-making of the criminal justice system in the face of an ever-widening range of uncertainty and public concern.

Donald Newman (1965:163) has indicated that "Probably no aspect of Criminology is easier to criticize, and consequently has received more criticism, than statistical descriptions of the crime problem. Whether statistics are used to indicate the extent of crime or the representativeness of criminal samples, or are quoted in any context, denunciations of the statistical base quickly follow." Canadians, unfortunately, find themselves in a similar situation: "So many papers have been written about the poor state of criminal statistics....in Canada that it seems almost worthless to add something again on the topic...A complete inventory of the gaps in our crime statistics would be long, tedious to compose or review, and a wearisome belabouring of the obvious. It has been done again and again the last few years." (Normandeau, 1970:198)

It seems clear from these quotes that concerns have been long existent with respect to the efficacy of criminal data. Traditionally, efforts to substantiate the veracity of criminal

data or "official counts of crime" (Nettler, 1978) have come from comparing statistical data gleaned from contributing agencies to such things as self-report studies, observations of criminal activity, surveys of victims, or other measures designed to explore the dimensions of "hidden criminality". In addition, examinations of "reported" crime have explored what was dubbed "the dark figure" of crime by European Criminologists (Skogan, 1977:42) i.e. occurrences that are called crime by some criteria and yet are not registered statistically in any criminal data. Further, Skogan (1977) refers to a "doubly dark" figure of crime or those offences which are reported neither to the police nor to an interviewer. The existence of a "dark" and "doubly dark" area in the reporting of crime has resulted in researchers not knowing just how representative the number of offences known to the police is of the total crime universe. This fact, according to Ferracuti, Hernandez, and Wolfgang (1962:113) "has been clearly recognized as one of the major difficulties of scientific research in criminology."

To further complicate matters, several factors serve in a selective and unpredictable way to reduce the numbers of offences reported to public agencies. Ferracuti, Hernandez, and Wolfgang (1962: 113) identify several possibilities for this phenomenon:

- "a. Willingness of the victim or of other citizens to report the crime, including fear of consequences of reporting;
- b. Expectation of effective police action on the

part of the public;

- c. Opinion of the public regarding the level of police services;
- d. Physical facilities for reporting;
- e. Accuracy and reliability of the police in classifying reports;
- f. Investigative efficiency of the police;
- g. Escape and evasive behavior on the part of the criminal;
- h. Arrest action;
- i. Administration of justice, especially prosecution;
- j. Probability of conviction;
- k. Application of measures such as probation and pardons."

In addition to these, McClintock (1970:22) identifies additional reasons for a lack of reporting offences:

- a. trivial crimes in which the trouble of reporting it is not worth it to the victim;
- b. crimes which may be "tolerated" by society e.g. underage drinking, pornography, etc.

While the importance of these areas to our knowledge of crime is vital, it is equally important to properly assess crime as it proceeds through what has been described as a "crime funnel". (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967; Silverman and Teevan, 1975, 1980) As one moves

through this funnel, the number of crimes decrease as does our knowledge about them. Because of this, the crime statistics reported by police contributors are often considered a more valid source of information on the amount and variety of crime in our society. On this subject, Sellin (1951:64) has stated that "the value of criminal statistics as a basis for the measurement of criminality in geographic areas decreases as the procedure takes us farther away from the offence itself." Further, Zay (1963:78) indicates that offences "known to the police are the closest available indication on the prevailing volume of crime and delinquency at the local, provincial, and national levels... The police force deals with more offences than does any other law enforcement agency."

As has been demonstrated, no paucity exists in the literature describing empirical explorations of "reported" crime. Concurrently, it seems that the data gleaned from police records are of tremendous value. While millions of scarce research dollars have been expended in empirical investigations of the etiology and ecology of crime, criminogenic conditions and their correlates, and a whole host of other seemingly pertinent, scholarly efforts, little empirical attention has been directed at perhaps the most important element of all - the statistical accuracy in the recording of offences by police agencies. The data become what might be described as the "raw material" for the academic and professional community - core ingredients that are the product of many complexities seldom exposed to public view. The accuracy of

statistical reporting by police departments will be the subject of this thesis with specific emphasis on the rules (as contained in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual) describing the various procedures to be used in the scoring or recording of offences by statistical contributing agencies. Indeed, the entire uniform crime reporting system is poorly understood in Canada. This thesis will, hopefully, provide greater insight into the complexities and intricacies of this system.

Unlike the more general subject of what gets reported (or for what reasons), literature in the more specific area of the uniform crime reporting rules and their use by contributing police agencies is characterized by an unfortunate drought. This deplorable lack of comment is surprising in the sense that so much effort has been expended researching the broader issues, yet how offences are treated statistically by the police has been largely ignored. Anyone who has dealt with this issue has provided either a mere description of the system in very general terms or has treated the rules of scoring and the accuracy of data as something almost incidental to "more important" concerns. The Uniform Crime Reporting Manual has changed very little over the years, a fact that may well reflect the little interest it has received. Continuous research can (and no doubt will be) conducted on how much and how often crime gets reported but if no attention is directed to inconsistent or prohibitive scoring rules in this Manual then the value of conducting research on the broader issues becomes moot - especially if these inconsistencies jeopardize the

accuracy of the data that are being submitted. It is not realistic to expect a high, positive correlation, for example, between confessions of criminality and official statistics when clearly the police department may not be permitted by virtue of restrictive scoring rules to score offences even if the police are aware of them.

The research of R.A. Silverman (1977), while of rather limited scope, is a rare exception to comments made above. In his 1977 study, Silverman examined reporting disparities for crime rates between the Calgary and Edmonton police departments. Some crimes (e.g. robbery, rape, and assaults) showed consistent differences between these two cities while offences in other categories were consistent from year to year. Further, differences (which could not be explained by chance alone) between these two agencies were apparent in that the Calgary Police Department "cleared otherwise" about 30% of its offences while this clearance method was twice as great in the case of the Edmonton agency. Finally, the proportion of offences "unfounded" was some four times greater in Edmonton than in Calgary. Again, chance alone would not explain these results.

Several major findings emerged from this 1977 study which are pertinent to this research. According to Silverman (1977:68):

1. There is a high degree of reliability in the coding of offences done in Calgary and Edmonton.
2. There is high inter-city offence coding reliability.

3. Some coders are more consistent than others in coding offences.
4. The uniform crime reporting system designed by Statistics Canada does not necessarily result in uniform crime reporting.
5. If Calgary and Edmonton police departments utilized the same procedures in recording assaults and robberies, it is likely that the two cities would be shown to have similar crime rates for these two crimes.
6. As presently constituted, statistics purporting to compare crime rates in Calgary and Edmonton are not comparable.
7. There is a need for the development of a more accurate Uniform Crime Reporting System for the Province of Alberta than the one now provided by Statistics Canada.
8. There is a need for further study in several areas touched on by this research.

One implication of this research (which Silverman identifies) is that differences in the recording procedures used in the two police departments explain the differences found in the recorded criminal statistics. From data gleaned from interviews it would appear such differences are not unique to the Calgary and Edmonton departments. Similar recording anomalies might well surface if other contributing agencies were examined. The suggestion is made (p.64) that the Statistics Canada reports are

comparing apples and oranges when they compare some crime statistics in cities across Canada. As Silverman (1977:64) suggests, "The Uniform Crime Reporting Methodology outlined by Statistics Canada does not result in uniform crime reporting." (emphasis original)

While empirical research in the area of crime coding is vital and welcome, this research by Silverman makes only the beginning of necessary intrusions into this area. Silverman merely suggests that there may be a problem with the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual so that uniformity in the resulting criminal statistics is not or cannot be ensured. While it is recognized that a detailed examination of the UCR Manual was outside the scope of his research, it is apparent that a much more comprehensive and systematic examination is required.

The uniform crime reporting system is generally assumed to generate uniform crime statistics. This thesis will undertake an examination of the accuracy of crime recording within R.C.M.P. jurisdictions in the Province of Alberta - jurisdictions that account for approximately half of the total reported crime in this Province. Emphasis will be placed on the specific rules and procedures dictated by the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. By examining the types of errors found, it may be possible to relate them to inconsistencies or vague areas in the UCR Manual itself.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis will be to critically examine uniform crime reporting in Alberta with specific emphasis on the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. Selected areas will also be

examined:

- (1) The history of crime reporting (recording) in Canada.
- (2) A review of available pertinent literature.
- (3) A critical review of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.
- (4) The accuracy of crime recording in Alberta.
- (5) Recommendations for changes to (3), above.

The primary thrust of this research will be directed at items (3) and (4), above. It is suspected that the UCR Manual contains inherent inconsistencies which pose serious dilemmas for those agencies contributing criminal statistics - dilemmas which, in fact, may perpetuate the incidence of error in the statistical submissions.

A thorough examination of the UCR Manual will be undertaken. During the course of this scrutiny, any deficiencies, contradictions, or vague areas in the scoring rules will be itemized along with the reasons specified for the perceived deficiency. On the basis of these apparent deficient areas of the Manual, realistic offence illustrations will be propounded to (as closely as possible) simulate offence situations which require the crime coder to appeal to these specific rules for scoring (to support the particular scoring decision). By following this procedure, it should be possible to relate coding deficiencies to the Manual itself. This strategy might culminate in some specific, concrete recommendations for positive change to the UCR Manual.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF CRIME REPORTING IN CANADA

CHAPTER II: The History of Crime Reporting in Canada

The implications and ramifications of police statistics for society as a whole (and certainly for present and future research) are profound. No use, however, can be made of police data nor can they be understood and interpreted without some basic understanding of what is available and, just as important, how our present system evolved. No pretense is made that any type of exhaustive examination will be forthcoming. Rather, only the highlights and broad philosophies underlying existing police statistical recording systems will be examined. While many modern Canadian police departments have developed highly sophisticated computerized data collection systems these are invariably for internal use only.

A much more pervasive statistical reporting system exists on a national scale under the auspices of the Justice Statistics Division of Statistics Canada. It is this agency that regulates and dictates reporting requirements for virtually all Canadian police agencies regardless of their computer capabilities or sophistication in data processing. This National Uniform Crime Reporting System forms the basis of published information on crime in this country. It is this uniform crime reporting system that will receive the attention of this Chapter. Not only will it be important to examine what exists but also to encourage a greater understanding of present systems by exploring the evolution, in Canada, of the Uniform Crime Reports.

The history of crime reporting in Canada is somewhat

shorter than in other countries. At the time of confederation the responsibility for "the census and statistics" became the mandate of the Dominion under the British North America Act. Chapter 13 of the Statutes of 1867 required schedules of criminal statistics be completed on an annual basis and be turned over to court officials. These people, in turn, conveyed this information to the Minister of Agriculture on forms furnished by him. (Morrow, 1968)

Progress in the collection of Canadian criminal data progressed at a very modest rate. In 1905, the Ministry of Agriculture created a permanent Census and Statistics office - an office which was to be the forerunner of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and later still, Statistics Canada. In 1912 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the statistical programs of the time and recommended the organization of a central statistical office for the coordination, unification, extension and improvements in statistics. These general improvements resulted in the writing of the Statistics Act and the subsequent creation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. (Morrow, 1968)

At this time, the courts were mainly responsible for inputting existing statistical systems. In 1920, the Bureau re-organized somewhat and began to handle statistics of crime from volunteering police departments. In 1921, police statistics were first published in Canada as a Section of Criminal Statistics, 1920. (Reed, 1979) Since the program was launched on a voluntary basis, only a very small number of municipal police forces were contributing. Over the next 40 years, both

the number of reporting police departments and the number of crime categories were expanded. The data provided at this time was a very poor indicator of the amount of crime and the statistics were not comparable from one year to the next. In 1920, a very modest crime reporting effort was undertaken. Cities and towns with a population of over 4,000 (104 of them) were to submit returns. Of this number only 88 complied with records that were even remotely satisfactory. Even though standard forms were to be used to collect the data, standardized definitions and, indeed, expectations were not provided. With the different police departments interpreting differently their crime, uniform statistics could not possibly exist. Standard units of count were required. (Morrow, 1968)

In 1949, a Dominion-Provincial Conference was held between representatives of the provincial and federal governments responsible for the administration of justice. Police representatives from various departments also attended. The importance of accurate and reliable crime statistics was underscored. At this meeting it was suggested that the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police be requested to promote among its members a better understanding of crime reporting and the importance of co-operation with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in collecting the requisite information. Despite this effort, little was accomplished at this time. In 1956, the CACP appointed a Committee on the Uniform Recording of Police Activities or the Uniform Crime Reporting Committee as it was now

known. This CACP subcommittee was comprised of representatives of Federal, Provincial, and Municipal police departments and members of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Justice Section. (Morrow, 1968) The years following proved to be critical to the development the Uniform Crime Reporting System. Most of what exists today in the realm of police crime data owes its genesis to the years following 1956. (1)

At the meeting held on June 27th and 28th, 1956, the Chief of the Judicial Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Mr. W. Magill, indicated that some 285 police departments in centers of 4,000 population and over, the R.C.M.P., and Ontario Provincial Police reported data to the Bureau. The DBS then compiled and published an annual report showing the various activities of its contributors. According to Mr. Magill, two main problems plagued police statistics:

- (1) There was a lack of uniformity in the reporting of information, and
- (2) Coverage was less than complete especially in those communities with a population less than 4,000 people that were not policed by either the R.C.M.P. or the Ontario Provincial Police. Similar problems were identified with the Quebec Provincial Police.

(Minutes of the U.C.R. meeting held on June 27-28, 1956.)

It is very clear that at the onset, the DBS adopted the posture that crime statistics were one important

by-product of the record system maintained by the crime reporting contributors. It was argued that the adoption of a uniform record system would facilitate uniformity in crime reporting. Interestingly enough, the CACP sub-committee felt the emphasis should be on developing uniformity through police statistical returns of a more immediate nature rather than concentrating on the records system - an area felt to take much more time to standardize. At this time, police returns were being submitted on an annual basis.

From the earliest meetings, it is apparent that the crime reporting systems in place in England, Wales, and especially the United States had a profound impact on the genesis and structure of crime reporting in this country. For example, up to this point Canada had been using the phrase "offence cleared by arrest" in conjunction with the crime returns. This terminology was considered inadequate for our use since there were other legitimate ways to clear an offence. The phraseology was changed to "offence concluded" based on the methods of clearance used in England and Wales. The lessons learned from our more experienced neighbours to the South were far more useful to us however. Considerable effort was made to standardize the definitions of offences and any other counting rule. At this time, 17 Criminal Code categories, Federal, Provincial, and Municipal data was collected.

Various proposed drafts of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual (similar to the one in use in the United

States) were reviewed. Further, various discussions ensued in which the frequency of the various submissions was discussed. The DBS was most interested in receiving crime data annually although they did entertain thoughts of having only the more serious offences reported on a monthly basis. No firm decisions were made one way or the other at this meeting.

As mentioned, the United States influence was felt throughout the early stages of uniform crime reporting in Canada. The Americans have a longer history of crime reporting than has this Country. During the 1920's, a great deal of concern surfaced in the United States with respect to crime and its administration. Several surveys were undertaken demonstrating that the statistical information on the activities of police, courts, and the various correctional institutions could be developed which would throw a great deal of light on the problem of crime and its control. Between 1926 and 1933, three basic collections of data were commenced under two different federal bureaus for the purpose of establishing a uniform, nationwide data collection service. (Beattie, 1955) The first development concerned the collection of data on prisoners in state and federal prisons and reformatories. The second development (in 1930) occurred when a system of reporting was inaugurated which requested all police departments in the country to furnish monthly data relating to offences known to the police and the number cleared by arrest. Finally, summary information for each state had been published yearly but for a variety of reasons

had not been successful. In 1930, an act of Congress gave the Federal Bureau of Investigation the responsibility of carrying on this monthly collection of data known as the Uniform Crime Reports. This collection of data has continued uninterrupted to the present. (Beattie, 1955)

While it is not the purpose of this chapter to enter in a long and involved comparison of the crime reporting systems used in the United States and Canada, one particular feature is worthy of note - a feature which will be discussed in more detail later. "It was the technical opinion of experts from the International Association of Chiefs of Police (an American organization), more than 40 years ago, that the following seven offences had a high probability of being reported among police departments in a uniform manner:

- (1) Murder and non-negligent manslaughter
- (2) Forcible rape
- (3) Robbery
- (4) Aggravated Assault
- (5) Burglary
- (6) Larceny (\$50 and over)
- (7) Auto Theft"

(Taft, 1973)

These offences have become known as "index offences", or sometimes as the "Major Serious Offences". One of the major functions of these "index" crimes is to serve as a uniform indicator of the extent and volume of crime. "Because of their uniformity, they can represent an index of change in volume from year to year."

(Taft,1973: 328)

The feasibility of establishing "index" offences in Canada similar to those of the United States apparently was the subject of a good deal of debate. (This is very important since the "index" used in the U.S. has been severely criticized). In part, this discussion is reflected in the minutes of the meeting held on September 19, 1960. At this time, no distinction (in terms of reporting procedures or the type of information required for the Index offences) would be made in Canada between the major and more minor offences. The information required for each type i.e. "clearance information" and "persons charged" data, was identical in contrast to the American system. Several reasons were offered for this Canadian position. Firstly, American police departments found that their various contributors placed more emphasis on reporting the relatively serious crimes accurately while being much less diligent with the processing of the more "insignificant" crimes. Secondly, American police departments were severely criticized (especially by Sociologists) for considering some offences to be "major" or "index" offences while other offences were delegated the "minor" adjective. Apparently there had been a good deal of concern expressed in that drug offences were considered "minor" - or at least this was implicit since drug offences were not considered among the "index" offences. A final reason for Canada not incorporating the "index" notion is that American police agencies collected more detailed information on their more serious offences while

not as much on the less serious ones. In designing our Canadian system officials had the benefit of some thirty years of crime reporting experience in the United States. Although debated extensively, the creation of a crime "index" seemed to serve no positive purpose.

In April of 1961, Dominion Bureau of Statistics Forms, Tally sheets, and the proposed Uniform Crime Reporting Manual were presented to the U.C.R. Committee for close examination. It was felt that during the early stages of this developing system, a minimum of detail on Form "C" ("Crime" form) was essential for the sake of simplicity. In September of that same year, the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual was approved by the U.C.R. working committee and was formally accepted by the CACP convention. The new manual was adopted by all police forces throughout Canada effective January 1st, 1962. It was also recommended at this time that in furtherance of uniform crime reporting, that the CACP sub-committee on the Uniform Recording of Police Activities be established on a permanent basis. When the Uniform Crime Reporting System went "on-stream" in Canada, there were 698 urban communities in Canada with a population over 750 operating their own police forces. Reports were received from 91.4% of these communities. (Reed, 1979)

Five main statistical areas formed the basis of the crime reporting system that was to follow. Because of the diverse statistical systems discussed and employed, a brief examination of each statistical form is required.

A. Form "A" (Administration)

Administrative statistics have been submitted by co-operating police departments for many years. As is the case with criminal statistics, the format has seen considerable change. Initially, police administrative statistics were essentially to deal with the internal workings of the police department and were felt to be of great merit in assessing resource requirements, workloads, and so forth. It was felt that the police administrative statistics would assist in providing a standard "of the basic requirements for a police department for various populations and areas. Also, in times of local or national emergency, it will show Canadian police strength and resources in any given district that may be called upon." (U.C.R. minutes of 31 August, 1959)

At the present time, Form A is still required albeit in somewhat modified format. It is required annually by the end of January incorporating information as of the last day in December of the preceding year. A copy of the Form A presently in use is attached as Appendix "A". The information not shaded identifies information requirements as they presently exist.

B. FORM "C" (CRIMINAL STATISTICS)

Form C statistics were originally intended to be very brief and simple. It was hoped that this would streamline and facilitate accurate and complete submission of data.

The number of crime categories included on this form varied both in number and content. Originally some 17 offences were of concern - offences ranging from murder to sex offences,

some property offences through to and including a "catch-all" category of "other criminal code". A small amount of other data relating to traffic, accidents, Provincial, Federal and Municipal enforcement activities were also included as was a small amount of "miscellaneous data".

Since 1962, a series of expansions have taken place with U.C.R. categories. At the present time, 107 crime categories are being utilized. There has been only a minimal amount of change in the rules for scoring these offences over the years. A copy of the present Form C is attached as Appendix "B".

C. FORM "D" (Drugs)

Prior to the implementation of the new U.C.R. manual in January of 1962, a special meeting was held on October 25th, 1961. In attendance were representatives of the R.C.M.P., the Ontario Provincial Police, and the Quebec Provincial Police as well as three members of Judicial Section of the D.B.S. The purpose of the gathering was to get the three police forces responsible for the provincial police work in Canada together. A discussion ensued over the special problems of obtaining an unduplicated count of crime and traffic enforcement statistics in rural areas and municipalities policed by these agencies under contract. Among several points of agreement between these police agencies, the following also met with a consensus: "the R.C.M.P. will accept the responsibility of reporting all offences under the Narcotic Control Act regardless of other police forces being involved". (U.C.R. minutes, October 25th, 1961, pp. 2) Since the R.C.M.P. is the national police force with a mandate to enforce

Federal statute offences, it was felt that this agency should solely report the occurrence of these offences. (Municipal police departments at this time also had to turn seized narcotics over to this federal agency as well.)

For several years, the R.C.M.P. submitted the drug statistics in a format consistent with Appendix "C" attached. By 1970 the incidence of Narcotic Control Act infractions had grown tremendously in Canada. Many larger municipal police departments had become directly involved in drug enforcement activities independent of their federal counterpart. It was felt that this involvement had reached such significant proportions that it would be in the best interests of the U.C.R. program and the various contributors if everyone was required to submit their own Form D. Further, the statistical data was seriously inflating data needed for R.C.M.P. management and planning purposes in the area of drug enforcement. Some injection of error was probable, as well, since circumstances had to be passed on from the Municipal to the Federal agency for scoring and submission to Ottawa. Early in 1972 the matter was reviewed by Ken Holt, the Acting Director of the Judicial Division. A questionnaire was sent to many municipal police agencies soliciting their views on implications and ramifications of the proposed change.

On December 12, 1972, Statistics Canada published a news bulletin instructing police departments to report their own drug offences on Form D. This new policy became effective on the 1st of January, 1973. On January 1st, 1974, an expanded U.C.R. Form C accommodated more detailed drug information rendering the

Form D obsolete. Unfortunately the foregoing policy decision did not rectify the problem of drug reporting in Canada. Statistics Canada requires that statistical submissions include only those cases occurring in a particular geographical area. After R.C.M.P. drug units ceased to submit Forms D, their statistical submissions had to be an accurate reflection of the geographical areas in which they worked. (Drug squads were strategically located throughout Alberta and in view of their Federal mandate had to generate crime statistics in the areas of other municipal police forces and R.C.M.P. detachment areas.) The result was that the R.C.M.P. had to turn over statistics to whichever police department had jurisdiction. This system seemed to work well until the Spring of 1978 when it was learned that statistics generated (by nearly half the full-time narcotics enforcement personnel in Alberta) were not being reported by a major Alberta police department and hence were not being submitted to Statistics Canada. Published crime data respecting the Narcotic Control Act is highly questionable therefore. The result was that the R.C.M.P. still turn statistics over to other R.C.M.P. detachments where applicable but do not turn over this data to municipal police agencies in Alberta. These offences are scored on their own U.C.R. returns. While this anomaly relates to the Province of Alberta it is quite likely this situation exists in other Provinces as well. A copy of the now obsolete Form D is attached as Appendix "C".

D. FORM "F" (Fire Statistics)

The keeping of statistics by police agencies on fire

crime offences was the object of a good deal of discussion during the early stages of U.C.R. Initially, arson offences were lumped in with "Other Criminal Code" offences. Several meetings were held between the Association of Canadian Fire Marshalls, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and D.B.S. personnel to resolve this undesirable situation. At this particular time, some statistical information was kept by the various insurance companies, Provincial Fire Marshalls, and so forth. Of concern was the number of arson cases not only within the various Provincial jurisdictions but also between the Provinces. There was no central agency involved which could coordinate reports or organize much needed informational exchanges. This responsibility was requested of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. It was quite apparent that for the purposes of the Association of Canadian Fire Marshalls having arson offences included in "Other Criminal Code" along with a multitude of both minor and major criminal code offences was hardly adequate for the purposes of this special interest group.

Effective January 1st, 1963, Provincial Fire Marshalls and Fire Commissioners became responsible for the collection and reporting of all offences of arson and attempted arson. Instructions were issued that each police contributor refrain from including these statistics on Form C. Rather, police departments were to notify a fire marshall in the event of a reported offence who, then, reported the provincial statistics to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. At a June, 1963 meeting of

the Association of Canadian Fire Marshalls, Mr. R.W. Switzer, the Dominion Fire Commissioner, reported the progress made to date:

"The discussion which followed the presentation of your report indicated to me that there was complete satisfaction with the present system used to collect these (fire) statistics from the provinces and with the progress that is being made to make the project of presenting a complete statistical report on fire crimes a reality." (Minutes of September 9th, 1963, U.C.R. meeting)

Form F was used to record fire data until 1974 at which time the number of U.C.R. categories were expanded to include the offence of arson.

E. FORM "T" (Traffic Statistics)

One of the major police responsibilities is to enforce laws and to investigate motor vehicle accidents of varying severity. Form T is an attempt to measure traffic data in as uniform a manner as is possible. In a situation analogous to Form C offences, traffic figures prior to 1962 were quite incomplete and incomparable for the same reasons as were Form C offences - a pronounced lack of clear definitions. While some traffic infractions are set out in the Criminal Code (and are therefore consistent throughout the Provinces) many infractions are determined by Provincial Statutes and hence can be slightly different from one Province to the next. This difficulty is certainly not unique since the American U.C.R. system must try to accommodate some 50 different State jurisdictions.

One of the main difficulties with the definitions of Form T offences was that Provincial departments had been set up to handle transportation, safety, and traffic problems within the Provinces. An assortment of definitional inconsistencies had crept into existence. At the same time, evidence is that the United States National Safety Council had written a manual for use by American police agencies entitled "Classification of Motor Vehicle Accidents". After much discussion it was decided that in the interests of uniformity and comparison between Canada and the United States, that the traffic definitions being utilized by the National Safety Council be used in Canada and that steps be taken to publish a Canadian edition of this manual.

On May 9th, 1963, correspondence from the National Safety Council indicated that there were no objections to the publication of a Canadian edition of their manual provided a proper acknowledgement was made and the copyright line retained. It was further agreed that additional changes could be made in the content to adopt Canadian requirements but the changes should be properly noted for the guidance of the reader and user. Possible conflict would have to be resolved between the various Provincial and Federal agencies with regards to definitional consistency; and further, an examination was required to ensure that there was no conflict between any definitions agreed to and the World Health Organization manual on the International Statistical Classification of diseases, injuries, and causes of death.

At a meeting on September 12th, 1965, Mr. Cassidy of

the D.B.S. advised committee members that things were not going smoothly with regards to the Canadian edition of this National Safety Council Manual. As an interim measure, some 4,000 copies of this American manual had been copied and distributed to Canadian police agencies. It was agreed that this manual would be used for a trial period to determine its short-comings and to see how it could be improved before a Canadian edition was published. Eventually the traffic instructions came to be included in the Canadian U.C.R. Manual.

"In the chronology of traffic accidents in Canada, several interesting items may be cited. In 1876, the first year of nationally published judicial statistics, there is no reference to offences of a traffic nature. In 1900, there was a statistical record of convictions and sentences for offences relating to highways. Figures for 1920 provide more specific details as to breaches of various street and traffic regulations - by motor vehicles, by bicycles, by cabs and drays, and by obstructing street and sidewalk. Further included in 1922 figures were breaches of street and traffic regulations by vehicles exceeding the speed limit, and in 1923, by vehicles overloading, and in 1924, by driving a motor vehicle while drunk. In 1938, driving while drunk was statistically recorded as an indictable offence." (Reed, 1979:21)

A copy of the existing Form T is attached as Appendix "D".

F. Homicide Return

Since 1961, homicide statistics have been the object of special attention by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and police forces throughout Canada. Any offence of either first or second degree murder, manslaughter, or infanticide becomes the object of a special Judicial Division return (exhibited as Appendix "E"). This form is required in addition to the usual entries in detail lines 002 to 005 of the U.C.R. Form C. One murder is counted for each victim and in incidents having more than one victim as many offences would be counted as there were victims.

It is common for police agencies throughout Canada to receive calls from Statistics Canada to enquire as to the reason a particular homicide went unreported. The mysterious informant is probably a newspaper clipping service that provides Statistics Canada information on suspected or actual cases that fall into the classification mentioned previously. Since offences of this type are under almost constant scrutiny every effort is made to ensure the accuracy of data. One difficulty is that not all the information provided by the various police contributors is published by Statistics Canada. For example, ethnicity, alcohol involvement, and so forth can be obtained only by special computer programs run by this Federal agency and are not published as a matter of routine.

G. ADJUSTMENT FORM

No statistical reporting system would be complete without some mechanism whereby entries or corrections to the data

system could be made. According to Paragraph 8.2 of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual, "These (adjustment) forms are solely for the correction of errors or omissions in returns previously submitted. DO NOT submit an Adjustment Form to report previously unsolved offences as 'cleared' or additional 'persons data'. Such data are to be included in your reports for the month in which the offence is 'cleared' and the 'persons are charged'." Further, Paragraph 8.6 states that "In cases where the police uncover further evidence in connection with an offence which has been previously classified, scored and reported to Statistics Canada in a less serious classification the following will apply: Where the evidence supports a change in classification, (upward) the offence and persons charged data are to be deleted from the original classification and scored in the more serious one. (Always report the most serious offence.)"

Adjustment Forms are completed by filling in the correct detail line (i.e. that specific offence line which is unshaded) the way it is actually supposed to read. The Total Lines (those lines which are shaded and which include the offence of Attempted Murder) are automatically adjusted. As of June, 1979, Adjustment Forms are no longer accepted by Statistics Canada after the end of March of the following calendar year. While this change has been challenged as promoting inaccuracies with data, Statistics Canada maintains that the advantage of having stable data (i.e. data which are not in a state of minor but continual adjustment) outweighs the inaccuracies fostered.

The Adjustment Form was first drafted and presented by the R.C.M.P. at a sub-committee meeting on September 7, 1964. It was designed to facilitate any changes that were required without the exchange of telephone calls or correspondence which was required at that time. This form was introduced for use with Forms C, D, F, and T, and was accepted unanimously. A copy of the Adjustment Form is attached as Appendix "F".

H. CONCLUSION

At present "the duties and responsibilities of Statistics Canada to collect and compile statistics in a variety of fields are contained in the Statistics Act, R.S.C. 1970-71, Chapter 15 amended by 1976-77, C28. The Statistics Act accordingly constitutes the authority of the bureau to operate a national police statistics system. The specific authority for this operation is as follows: 'without limiting the duties of Statistics Canada under section 3 or affecting any of its powers or duties in respect of any specific statistics that may otherwise be authorized or required under this Act, the Chief Statistician shall, under the direction of the Minister, collect, compile, analyse, abstract and publish statistics in relation to all or any of the following matters in Canada: - S.21(d) law enforcement, the administration of Justice and corrections. (iv) Further, pursuant to sec 7 of the said Statistics Act, the Minister may, by order, prescribe such rules, instructions, schedules and forms as he deems requisite for conducting the work and business of Statistics Canada, the collecting, compiling and publishing of statistics and other information and by taking of

any census authorized by this Act." (U.C.R. Manual, 1979) While the potential obviously exists for legal sanctions to be imposed on non-conforming police agencies, Statistics Canada has adopted a more positive approach in their solicitations of co-operation from the police community. In many cases informal approaches are made to non-contributing agencies either by Statistics Canada personnel themselves or by other police agencies having representation on the C.A.C.P. sub-committee.

The statistical requirements of contemporary Canadian police agencies have been examined. As mentioned, many sophisticated agencies accumulate their own additional data for local purposes. This local information is then synthesized in such a way so as to meet Statistics Canada requirements. It is this information that is ultimately used by the vast majority of Canadians. To understand the evolution of the present system is to better comprehend crime reporting in Canada.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Introduction

Concerns have been long existent with respect to the efficacy of criminal data. To undertake a comprehensive review of existing literature in this area is to assume a task of tremendous proportions. To then attempt to present these concerns in any kind of informative, coherent manner is to further compound the problem. Issues raised about the reporting of crime have been quite general in some cases while in other instances they have been very specific. Organizational difficulties ensue.

This chapter will undertake a review of existing literature on the broad subject of the reporting and recording (coding) of criminal statistics and the use of same. No pretense will be made that the plethora of contributions on the subject will be exhausted. Rather, for the sake of coherence, only the general thrusts of these contributions can be considered. Where possible, the weight accorded this examination will reflect that of these various contributions on the subject - especially those contributions touching upon uniform crime reporting.

B. "Dark Figure" of Crime

The area of "counting crime - officially" (Nettler, 1978) that has undoubtedly received the greatest amount of attention is that crime which is never reported to the police. A corollary concern is the fact that even when events are reported to the police, for one reason or another, they are not made the

subject of an official report and no official counting procedure follows - a situation often referred to as the 'dark figure' of crime. (Skogan, 1977:42) Virtually every discussion of the inherent problems of criminal measurement systems ventures into this area either explicitly or implicitly. Some of the more comprehensive considerations of this subject have been undertaken by Biderman and Reiss, 1967; Black, 1972; Conrad, 1968; Ferracuti, Hernandez, and Wolfgang, 1962; McClintock, 1970; National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1972; Nettler, 1978; Newman, 1965; Pittman and Handy, 1965; Quinney, 1975; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964; Silverman and Teevan, 1975, 1980; Skogan, 1977; and Wolfgang, 1973.

The fact that the amount of crime coming to the attention of the police represents only a portion of the total universe of crime is not a recent discovery. In his earliest research, for example, the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet concluded:

"our observations can only refer to a certain number of crimes known and adjudicated, out of a total number of unknown crimes committed. Since this total sum will probably always remain unknown, all conclusions based upon it will be more or less erroneous; I do not hesitate to say that all we possess of statistics of crimes and misdemeanors would have no utility if we did not tacitly assume that there is a nearly invariable relationship between offenses known and adjudicated and the total unknown sum of

offences committed.....One appreciates therefore how important it is to validate such a relationship and can only be astonished that no one has been occupied in doing so up to the present time."

(Quetelet, quoted in Sellin and Wolfgang,
1964:25)

Quetelet believed that a constant ratio existed between "hidden criminality" and adjudicated crime. This belief led him to accept that the statistics of prosecuted crime formed a sound basis for the measurement of crime providing he could comfortably assume that penal law and administration and the social conditions of a country had remained completely unchanged during the period studied. (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964)

Some argue (Cressey, 1957; Wolfgang, 1963) that the damage done to crime reporting by the "dark" or "hidden" figures is surpassed only by the damage done to crime reporting by the police not recording all offences that are actually known to them. According to Cressey (1957) the police have a vested interest in protecting the reputation of their cities - protection that is sometimes accomplished by manipulating their statistical picture. Evidence is cited of a case in New York (Institute of Public Administration, 1952) where the statistical recording of offences was removed from the precinct level and centralized. A tremendous surge (statistically artificial) in crime resulted. This type of political interest in crime rates will be addressed in more detail later. Black (1972) discusses

the principal mechanisms by which the police produce official rates of crime in their field encounters with citizens. He finds (p. 333) that the decision to give official status to a crime ordinarily is an outcome of face-to-face interaction between the police and the complainant rather than a programmed police response to a bureaucratic or legal formula. Whether or not an official report is written affects not only the profile of official crime rates, it also largely determines whether police follow-up will be undertaken.

C. Validity of criminal statistics

Primarily in response to perceived deficiencies in "counting crime - officially" and especially because of the "dark figure" of crime, social scientists began to explore alternate techniques to determine the size of the crime universe (and hence to assess the validity of official data.) The President's Commission on Law Enforcement began to fund studies using survey techniques. The extent to which sample populations had either engaged in criminality or had been the victim of crime was of concern. While the survey methods employed are not without their methodological weaknesses (Biderman, 1967; Biderman and Reiss, 1967; Bridges, 1977; Hackler and Lautt, 1969; Howard, 1975; McClintock, 1970; Nettler, 1978; Petersilia, 1977; Silverman and Teevan, 1975, 1980; Skogan, 1974, 1975, 1977; United States Department of Justice, 1975) the assumption was made that if these quite different approaches to crime yield essentially the same or very similar results, then the more accessible official

statistics could be more confidently employed. Millions of research dollars have been expended in this area so obviously it will be impossible to do anything but conduct a shallow review of the results. Only the studies typifying the work in this area will be considered.

In his article "The Validity of Official Crime Statistics: Empirical Investigation", Wesley Skogan (1974) compared survey and official (statistical) estimates of crime in ten major American cities. He found that (p.32 - 33) "official statistics do not appear to lead us to make radically incorrect judgments.....Patterns in the data generally are invariant across measurement techniques....This study suggests that official statistics may be worthy of confidence." In conclusion (p.37 - 38) this author indicates that "It is commonly suggested that official measures of crime are of limited utility in measuring victimization, and largely reflect measurement artifacts produced on both the citizen and police sides of the official crime-measurement process. A direct comparison of survey estimates of crime and official reports of crimes known to the police suggest a more optimistic picture of the status of crime statistics as social science data." (emphasis added)

Similar conclusions were reached by Katherine Howard (1975) in her examination of the relationship between the CAPER system of the San Jose Police Department and the results of victimization studies. Further, according to Nettler (1978:75), "It cannot be said that these optional study methods drastically

revise official tallies, however. Some of these observations open our eyes to new forms of criminal enterprise, but they do not change markedly the maps of criminal conduct drawn from official statistics.....Fortunately for theories of criminogenesis, official and unofficial counts of crime are in general agreement in mapping the social locations of serious offences." (emphasis added)

Certainly official police statistics of crime are imperfect indicators of the true extent of criminality. At the same time, survey methods are hampered by their own special problems. If different methods yielded different results the criminologist would be even more seriously impaired with respect to crime theory. This, fortunately is not the case. Even this very brief examination makes it clear that the value of "counting crime - officially" cannot be relegated to some position of diminished importance. For the moment, there does not seem to be any better way known to describe the extent of crime than official statistics.

D. Qualitative measures of crime

It has been argued that in addition to providing a measure of the quantitative aspects of criminology, crime statistics should also address qualitative aspects i.e. the seriousness of crimes in terms of the objective damage. (Akman and Normandeau, 1967) The need for this refinement is not new. In 1898, von Mayr wrote in Moralstatistik:

"Another manner of grouping offenses and their offenders

into materially important classes of offense gravity is a worthy future task for moral statistics. One would, then, have to differentiate the officially labeled crimes into those, on the one hand, that are regarded by public social ethics as very serious and serious attacks on the social equilibrium from, on the other hand, those that are from expedience defined by the state but are less serious from the socio-ethical point of view.

The number of gradations must not be too great but such a classification of the mass of criminal statistical data is obviously essential."

(von Mayr, quoted in Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964:43)

Despite this idea being around for over 80 years, it has received comparatively little scholarly attention. Notable exceptions, however, do exist. (Akman and Normandeau, 1966, 1967; Akman, Normandeau, and Turner, 1966; Nettler, 1978; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967; Sellin, 1951; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1963, 1964; Vaz and Lodhi, 1979; and Wolfgang, 1963.) For purposes of this thesis, a review of this literature would be inappropriate and would serve only to obfuscate an already complex issue.

The review thus far has centered around some of the more general issues with criminal statistics. More specific issues have also been raised. One of these more narrow avenues is the "index" of criminal offences used in the United States. When Canada was in the very early stages of its uniform crime reporting system, serious consideration was given to formulating

a similar system. For reasons discussed in the historical portion of this thesis, the notion was rejected. Criticisms, therefore, aimed at such an "index" are applicable to the American UCR rather than the system used in Canada.

E. Index offences

The "index" offences are comprised of non-negligent homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over, auto theft and rape. The rationale for using these specific offences first appeared in the original work of the Committee on Uniform Crime Records:

"The total number of criminal acts that occur is unknown, but those that are reported to the police provide the first means of a count. Not all crimes come readily to the attention of the police; not all crimes are of sufficient importance to be significant in an index and not all important crimes occur with enough regularity to be meaningful in an index. With these considerations in mind, the above crimes (i.e. the index crimes) were selected as a group to furnish an abbreviated and convenient measure of the crime problem."

(Committee on Uniform Crime Records, reprinted in Wolfgang, 1963: 709 - 710)

This group of seven offences (called "Part I Offences") was selected to act as a crime "barometer" - presumably because they were offences which, when committed, would be reported in nearly every instance to police agencies by the victim or others having

knowledge of such offences. (Beattie, 1960)

Wolfgang (1963) provides an insightful review of many problems with the uniform crime reports. In his discussion he analyzes the need to revise the classification of offences in the "index" because of the serious distortions that result. As he indicates, "Offences against the person constitute only 8 percent of all the index crimes; offences against property comprise 92 percent. It is obvious that because burglary makes up 44 percent of the crime index, a slight increase in burglary offences will substantially affect that total, regardless of the trends for the other six offences." (Wolfgang, 1963:721) Although a most damaging argument to the crime index, adverse comments have not stopped here. Sophia Robison (1966) indicates that although the crime captions used in this "index" appear mutually exclusive, there is no assurance that either these or the other offence categories are always uniformly applied. Further, she argues, there is no assurance that all jurisdictions affix the same labels to similar offences. A third expressed concern relates to the use of "catch-all" categories for miscellaneous offences - categories which are to be considered highly suspect. (This criticism is not always directed specifically to index offences.)

A final attack is that "attempted" offences are included with the crime categories as though the particular criminal act had been completed. Because of these sorts of concerns, Beattie (1960:58) suggests a further refinement of offences within this index.

Pittman and Handy (1962:185) provide the dissent that

is predictable. While recommending some improvement to uniform crime reporting, they state ".....the current FBI crime classification scheme is composed of seven Index Crimes and twenty Other Crimes. This classification scheme is still satisfactory....." While stating the system is satisfactory, however, they do acknowledge the problems already identified with this crime index and, like Beattie, call for a refinement in these "index" offences (i.e. into "Persons" and "Property" Crimes).

F. Crime Rates

"Absolute statistical numbers are of little value for the measurement of criminality. Criminality is conduct that violates the criminal law and it takes people to violate the law. If we are concerned with setting up measurements, we must therefore relate the number of recorded offences to the size and character of the population in the area or population group involved." (Sellin, 1951:125) Disapproval with existing methods of relating crime to a population has come under scathing attack from many other researchers. (Beattie, 1960; Black, 1972; Giffen, 1976; Quinney, 1975; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964; Silverman and Teevan, 1975, 1980; and Wolfgang, 1963.)

The computation of crimes rates (often based on a population per 100,000) is referred to as a crude rate. It is based on the unstated assumption that everyone is equally capable of committing crimes. (Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964:51). Since it is an established fact that not every member of a community is

capable of criminality (e.g. small children defined by law as being incapable), this basic assumption therefore, seems incorrect. As Nettler (1978:72) indicated "To increase the accuracy of forecasts, a rate should be 'refined' so that it includes in its denominator all those persons and only those persons who are at risk of whatever kind of event is being tallied in the numerator." (emphasis original) It is important then that to refine the rate beyond the crude form some knowledge must exist about those at risk. This position has also been taken by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967).

Other articles also call for a refinement of crude crime rates. (Nettler, 1978; National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1972; Pittman and Handy, 1962; Robison, 1966; Sellin, 1951; and Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964) Since the crude approximations are useful only in cases where criminality occurs with equal frequency throughout the population, any increase or decrease in crime can be determined only after the age and sex structure is examined. (Sellin, 1951) Nettler (1978) suggests that a very minimal requirement be established whereby crime rates are controlled for age, sex, and density of populations. Comparisons, he suggests, become more accurate between populations when this refinement is provided. He also gives consideration to class, race, and occupational variables.

The final area concerning crime rates that has received the brunt of criticism is the inaccuracy of the

population data itself, that is, the population bases used to compute these rates. Generally, two different areas have been singled out for adverse comment. Firstly, Sellin and Wolfgang (1964:53) articulate their displeasure over inaccuracies resulting from being unable to separate offences committed by residents versus non-residents of a metropolitan area. Presently, available census data provide figures on the numbers of people residing in certain geographical areas. These figures do not take into account satellite communities surrounding these geographical areas. The result of course is that the number of persons during the year capable of becoming involved in crimes within that City is much larger than the permanent population. A rate of crime emerges which is badly distorted. (This problem is also experienced in resort areas of this Province when local residents are inundated with tourists.) As these authors point out, since no satisfactory statistical procedure can deal with this phenomenon, it remains problematic.

The second general criticism relates to the use of badly dated population figures. (Wolfgang, 1963) Crime rates in the United States were calculated on the basis of decennial census figures. This meant that those areas incurring population shifts were at variance with the "real" crime picture during the years immediately preceding a new census. The result was that every ten years the crime rate dropped. Without intercensus years population data the rates not only reflected the lower population base of the preceding ten years, but rates did not take into account these population shifts. Since the 1950's when

this problem was identified, population estimates began to be used thus alleviating many (but certainly not all) of these difficulties.

G. Uses of criminal statistics

The use and presentation of crime rates and other forms of criminal statistics has received considerable adverse comment in three specific areas - (1) the use of data by official agencies, (2) by the academic community, and (3) by the media. (Beattie, 1960; Biderman and Reiss, 1967; Isaacs, 1961; National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1972; Quinney, 1975; Robison, 1966; Wolfgang, 1963.) The problems have been described in various ways at various times.

1. As mentioned previously, police departments and the political systems controlling them are extremely sensitive to crime statistics. The extent to which the resultant data can be trusted is therefore highly questionable. (Biderman and Reiss, 1967) As Quinney (1975:23) explains: "In the final analysis crime rates have to be understood as political devices. It is for political purposes that criminal statistics are gathered. And likewise, it is according to political needs that criminal statistics are recorded and interpreted. For that reason, American crime rates are subject to great manipulation, from their inception to their use. It is impossible to know from any statistic the 'true' rate of crime. Whether crime is increasing or decreasing in American society is a question that can never be

objectively answered without considering the politics of the times."

Over the past 10 years the two most visible, and perhaps most popular, views of crime among Western scholars have been the ideas of radical criminologists and those of "labeling" theorists. It is this latter perspective that is of concern here. The labeling approach is known by several other names including "societal reaction", "societal definition", and the "interactionist theory of deviance". The assumptions common to these is the causal power of response - both verbal and nonverbal to classes of people and classes of acts. (Nettler, 1978: 275) Such things as "crime" and "deviance" are defined by individuals within a social system. This theory is of theoretical significance to the use of official statistics.

Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963), for example, argue that "the question of the theoretical significance of the official statistics can be re-phrased by shifting the focus of investigation from the processes by which certain forms of behavior are socially and culturally generated to the processes by which rates of deviant behavior are produced..... Implicit in this proposal is the assumption that an explanation of the behavior-producing processes is also an explanation of the rate-producing processes." (Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963:134, emphasis original) Rather than focusing on the content of deviant behavior, these authors shift the focus to the "societal reactions" which define various forms of behavior as deviant. Accordingly, "rates of deviant behavior are produced by the actions taken by persons in the social system which define,

classify, and record certain behaviors as deviant." (Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963:135, emphasis original) Viewed from this perspective then, behavior which is deviant is organizationally defined by the personnel in the system producing that rate. A denial of the notion of reporting error follows since criminal statistics are a measure not of deviant behavior but of the actions taken by actors within the particular social system.

This posture is not unlike that adopted by Skogan (1975). He suggests (p. 23) that error can be injected into criminal statistics by organizational and political influences. To support this contention he cites a 1966 study conducted by Wolfgang (1970). An audit was undertaken of New York City Police Department station-houses which disclosed a 20 to 90 percent under-reporting of events in their files. This suggests that police agencies are, in fact, highly sensitive to criminal statistics since this study took into consideration the concurrence of this phenomenon with reorganization within this police agency. In addition to the above, Seidman and Couzens (1974) suggest that when commanders are evaluated on their ability to reduce crime, a consistent tendency to under-report or down-grade crime can be an unfortunate consequence.

The situation with the New York Police Department referred to previously, as well as the theoretical contributions of Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963) and Seidman and Couzens (1974) will be important to any examination of uniform crime reporting. Police agencies require a whole plethora of statistical data for their management purposes - data taken from uniform crime

reports. Hence, vital police needs are served by these criminal statistics - needs which may or may not be consistent with the legal, social, or political requirements. The fact then that crime rates are up may coincide with requests for additional manpower. An increase in offences involving firearms may coincide with Federal legislation concerning gun control. While no suggestion is being made that such "phenomena" are deliberate or are, in fact, happening, these types of considerations have received virtually no examination by scholars.

2. Criminologists and other researchers have been cited as being guilty of paying only lip service to the inherent inaccuracies of crime data while drawing some rather profound conclusions as a result of their use. According to Quinney (1975:17) statistics about crime and delinquency are probably the most unreliable and difficult of all social statistics. Criminologists (and the general public) are on rather thin ice when they attempt to use criminal statistics as accurate measures of "actual crime" in any given geographical area. He suggests it's just not possible to accurately determine the amount of criminality since a large proportion of crime is unreported and some actors will be labeled criminals while others will not.

Beattie (1960) provides further support for the idea that crime data is tenuous in some of its uses. "Even though some of these writers recognize the limitations of the data, they show little reticence in making extensive use of these kinds of published statistics. Phrases such as, 'The assumption is known

to be somewhat invalid', or 'These are the best available data', are exceedingly weak justifications for the particular conclusions made when such material is cited." (Beattie, 1960:61) Similarly, Wolfgang (1963:717) indicates "there are some problems in using these statistics safely for scientific research. Although it is suggested that the reports also provide meaningful data for social scientists and other scholars there are many difficulties involved in trying to interpret table titles, locate the data used in trying to interpret table titles, locate the data used in various kinds of tables, and discover what raw data were used in presenting certain kinds of statistical analyses of crime trends." It is imperative that scholars learn for themselves the various intricacies and limitations intrinsic to the data they seem to regard as being "cast in stone". While some empirical conclusions may well be justified on the basis of the statistics used, others are clearly not. It is myopic (but comfortable) to suggest otherwise.

3. Norman Isaacs, in his article entitled "The Crime of Present Day Crime Reporting" (1961) attacks the news media for their presentation of crime data. While generally commending improvements over the years, this author rebukes American newsmen and editors for the present treatment accorded criminal statistics. He advances the argument that there is a tremendous need for crime coverage that is sensitive to the sociology of crime - an approach which will educate the public about such things as racial inequalities and the costs involved (financial

and human) with an outmoded penal system.

H. Uniform crime reporting

It should be apparent to this point that there is no shortage of articles on the nature of criminal statistics - especially in terms of the uses and abuses to which the data are put. It is surprising, however, that little comment has been forthcoming with respect to specific rules for the coding of crime. As mentioned in Chapter I, tremendous research efforts have been devoted to broader issues (such as the "dark figure" and the circumstances surrounding the official recording of incidents) and yet the specifics of how offences are treated statistically has received very little attention.

The Uniform Crime Reporting Manual has received only minimal change over the years. For a document that is so important to the field of crime statistics this is amazing. While legislators are frequently amending the Criminal Code to keep pace with changing social conditions, similar changes have not been forth-coming with respect to this Manual.

A tremendous reluctance exists to incorporate changes to the rules of scoring. Change, it is argued, would render incomparable all historical data. Further, since the UCR system in Canada was formulated along the lines of the American system, any unilateral change would render even more difficult comparisons between Canada and the United States vis-a-vis crime. For example, studies such as those undertaken by Radczynowicz and King (1977), it is argued, would no longer be possible. This argument is rather shallow, however, since the type of

examination undertaken by these researchers concerned many countries with different methods of reporting and scoring crime. In addition, P.J. Giffen (1966:53) discusses a comparison undertaken between the United States and Canada in which Canadian offences were grouped into classes approximating U.S. "index" offences in an effort to compare crime statistics. This "fit" was very imperfect since difficulties were encountered in relating Canadian data on "assault (not indecent)" and the offence of "assault causing bodily harm" to American UCR categories. This particular data, therefore, could not be used. Both offence classifications used in the Canadian system would qualify as "aggravated assault" in the American statistics. Given the type of arguments advanced above, then, this result is paradoxical. Such changes unilaterally undertaken would not preclude future studies of the sort traditionally undertaken in this area.

Some exploration of scoring rules (however superficial) can be found in Akman, Normandeau, and Turner, 1966; Cassidy and Hopkinson, 1974; Matthews, 1972; Nettler, 1978; Silverman, 1977; Silverman and Teevan, 1975, 1980; Taft, 1956; and Wolfgang, 1963. As mentioned, a mere explanation of existing rules is usually all that is provided rather than a detailed presentation of areas within the Manual (either the U.S. or Canadian) that may be contributing to serious inaccuracies and distortions in the overall system of crime recording.

Perhaps the best Canadian efforts to examine specific scoring rules have been undertaken by Cassidy and

Hopkinson in the CANJUS Project Report #12 ("Information and Statistics on the Canadian Criminal Justice System: Problems and Recommendations) and by Silverman (1977). The former publication, undertaken by the Statistics Division of the Federal Ministry of the Solicitor General, utilizes a systematic approach to the total Canadian Criminal Justice process to identify certain problems with the way in which offender information is presently collected and aggregated. This report highlights the need for uniformity and consistency and promulgates several recommendations in pursuit of these goals.

This CANJUS report provides insight into three major descriptive problems of the Canadian Criminal Justice process. First, existing statistics reflect only the number of offences in a particular type of crime. Second, the number of counts per flow differs among the component agents of this system and finally, there is not a uniform classification of crime types. The report examines the specific offences of Break and Enter, Theft, Prostitution, Offensive Weapons, Fraud, and "Other" crime categories. While this type of examination is crucial it only hints at the real problem in this area - the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.

As indicated in Chapter I, Silverman (1977) examined the disparities in crime reporting reflected between the Calgary and Edmonton Police Departments. Some crimes showed consistent differences between the two cities while others showed consistency from year to year. Of major concern in this study were difficulties in scoring robberies and sex offences although

other areas were also analyzed. The possibility of systematic variation between police departments in the use of the data reporting device provided by Statistics Canada or through the coding done after this instrument was utilized, was also examined. (Silverman, 1977:3) Further, this author along with Teevan (1975, 1980) examine definitional idiosyncracies in the way "attempted" offences are scored and the manner in which crime types (i.e. "Persons" or "Property" offences) are defined. A brief look at the "Multiple Offence Rule" is also afforded.

Several less easily "classified" problems have been cited with the uniform crime reports. Pittman and Handy (1962:183) describe several limitations of UCR data. Among the problem areas, they indicate that certain data obtained from co-operating agencies by the FBI are not published in the uniform crime reports. This criticism, as has already been pointed out, is equally valid in terms of the Homicide Returns submitted by contributing agencies here in Canada. Further, since co-operation with the system may reflect the climate of relations with the FBI it may be that reporting will be irregular, incomplete, and different from year to year.

This situation is equally applicable in Canada. As has been indicated, Statistics Canada has a mandate to collect and compile statistics in a variety of fields in accordance with the Statistics Act. (R.S.C. 1970-1971, Chapter 15 amended by 1976-77, C.28) While the potential obviously exists for legal sanctions to be imposed on non-conforming police agencies, Statistics Canada has adopted a more positive approach in their

solicitations of co-operation from the police community. In many cases informal approaches are made to non-contributing agencies either by Statistics Canada personnel themselves or by other police agencies having representation on the CACP sub-committee.

Biderman and Reiss (1967) suggest that any set of crime statistics includes some evaluative, institutional processing of reports. Events in our society, they argue, are not some objectively observable universe of "criminal acts" but rather those events defined, captured, and processed as such by the various mechanisms of society. As they conclude, "In exploring the dark figure of crime, the primary question is not how much of it becomes revealed but rather what will be the selective properties of any particular innovation for its illumination. As in many other problems of scientific observation, the use of approaches and apparatuses with different properties of error has been a means of approaching truer approximations of phenomena that are difficult to measure." (Biderman and Reiss, 1967: 14)

Wolfgang (1963) criticizes the UCR classification as being constructed without an underlying criminological theory. Rather than being designed with theory, with the testing of hypotheses in a research project, with operational definitions for empirical analysis, it was based on assumed administrative utility and presumed uniformity. Much crime actually known to the police is hidden because offences are obscured by generic terms and by the techniques required in scoring. The notion that organizational processes contribute considerably to error in

police-recorded crime statistics is reinforced by Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963; the National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1972; and Skogan, 1975.

I. New Directions

It is evident from the maze of scattered literature on uniform crime reporting that a need exists for a renewed look at the manner in which criminal statistics are accumulated and used. It is relatively easy to be critical without providing ideas for a more viable alternative. Many writers have adopted this approach. Not all available literature, however, is completely negative. Some new directions have emerged.

1. Consumer-orientation

Cognizant of the many short-comings of criminal data (including its unreliability and lack of uniformity) in making inferences about crime, Stanton Wheeler (1967:50) indicates "the case for pessimism, therefore, does not lie with the absence of intelligent critical work. Rather, there is an absence of any follow-through that attempts to solve the problems pointed up (sic) in the various critiques." He assumes that our inability to utilize and adequately interpret criminal statistics is not a result of technical deficiencies previously articulated but rather is due to the original manner in which the problem has been stated. A reformulation of the problem is therefore necessary rather than further refinements in the technology of crime reporting. What Wheeler essentially proposes is that the

most useful way of reporting crime data (p. 57) "...would be to use as a denominator not some characteristic that might describe offenders, but one that will describe their victims. Such consumer-oriented statistics (emphasis added) would seem to be more important as a public service than are offender-oriented statistics such as those we now produce." He feels that it is timely that collection agencies concern themselves with collecting data on the complaining witness, the social characteristics of the community, the reporting or arresting officer, and the nature of the police system as a whole. (The difficulties in attempting to quantify some of these elements are obvious.) These factors, he contends, would permit a greater understanding of other possible sources of variation in crime rates. This emphasis on consumer statistics of crime and criminality is also advocated by Beattie, 1960; Macnaughten-Smith, 1970; National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1972; Normandeau, 1970; and Wolfgang, 1963.

2. Centralized information system

Several authors have called for the establishment of a centralized information system for use by all police departments. (Beattie, 1960, 1968; Conrad, 1968; Giffen, 1976; Glaser, 1967; Matthews, 1972; and Silverman, 1977.) The 1977 study into the Calgary and Edmonton police departments undertaken by Silverman, formulated this recommendation largely as a result of the interviews conducted with police officers and other observations made at the police agencies involved. A further

(and certainly related) suggestion calls for the establishment of a police commission on uniform crime reporting with a mandate to construct a uniform crime reporting system that meets the needs of policing in Alberta.

Upon looking at this same judicial jurisdiction, Matthews (1972:66) remarked ".....data are collected by each division within the legal justice system without coordination or sharing. It is impossible to follow an individual through the system as he is transferred from one agency to another; and the necessary information for monitoring the legal justice system is both extremely tardy and cannot answer the problems which must be considered in evaluating the effectiveness of the system, for each of the major agencies base their statistics upon a different unit of analysis." Matthew's recommendation for developing a central registry for the compilation, analysis, and dissemination of legal-justice statistics would address these concerns. Rather than introducing wholesale change, the present criminal justice system would simply be used more efficiently.

Ronald Beattie (1955, 1960, 1968) has been a strong advocate of a centralized statistical reporting system for the United States. This single agency, he argues, should be established at the state level. He attributes the large number of independent sovereign criminal jurisdictions (with decentralization within each) as being one of the chief reasons why the gathering of accurate and comparable criminal statistics has proved to be so difficult. As in the work of Matthews, information from various actors within the judicial system relating to the same miscreant requires a centralized aggregation

of data.

J. Conclusion

It has not been possible, obviously, to undertake a complete and exhaustive review of all suggested avenues of pursuit respecting uniform crime reporting. Only major and recurrent themes could be addressed. The raw material of the criminal justice system begins with the policeman on the street. He is the "gate keeper" of criminal statistics by virtue of his tremendous discretion. With this in mind, it is imperative that a realistic attitude be adopted towards the uniform crime reporting system.

In pursuit of science and understanding it is tempting to forget about the source of this data - be it the cop on a beat, a clerk of the court, or a corrections official. Any future system must be simple if it is to succeed. Any system designed which is too cumbersome will serve only to exacerbate and amplify existing deficiencies in criminal statistics. Few literary contributions advocating change seem to acknowledge this responsibility. Silverman (1977:71) is one of the exceptions when he indicates the importance of constructing an offence report that is not only amenable to police needs and computerization, but that ".....the report form should be made as simple as possible for police officers who have to fill it out." This conclusion could apply equally to other areas of the criminal justice system as well.

This latter point intends no reflection whatsoever

on the intelligence of the police community. This group is understandably apt to interpret their primary responsibility as being a peace-keeping role, which is as it should be. The statistics generated tend often to be seen as bothersome and unpalatable to the police community. Their concern is not with the generation of detail suitable for direct analysis by the scholar and to expect otherwise is to be naive. It cannot be argued that it is undesirable to further encroach into the bowels of "hidden criminality" and to learn more about the victims of crime. To say the actors within the criminal justice system would be unwilling or unable to co-operate is unjustifiably pessimistic. These areas must be subjected to further rigorous examination. As in the past, the police community will continue to define that which is criminal. It is of vital importance that these necessary intrusions be undertaken with administrative devices tempered to facilitate and not obstruct the accuracy of the data. A system which is too cumbersome will receive poor support - support crucial to the success of social planning.

Available literature contains no shortage of criticisms of the criminal statistical systems. However, Tittle (1969:411-412) has indicated that ".....the unreliability of crimes statistics is well known, but the lack of other sources of data precludes alternative approaches. (emphasis added) We must continue to work with these records and alter the conclusions if necessary when more reliable information becomes available." Clearly the uniform crime reporting system cannot be relegated to inferior importance as it represents the foundation upon which

criminal statistics are promulgated.

Literature on criminal statistics focuses on the broad concerns only with little evidence of any systematic micro-examination of the rules that determine not only what is to be scored but how. There is no doubt a tremendous amount of crime that never gets reported and that much reported crime is never made the subject of official reports. In short, there are no arguments presented against the philosophy and use of the "crime funnel". While continued research in these areas is important, it is equally important that the drought be ended in relation to specific rules of scoring. It seems unlikely that a scoring system universally acceptable could be designed. It does seem probable that contentious, vague, and inconsistent scoring rules may be promoting error within this already imperfect system and hence, it is incredible that so little effort has been expended in this direction.

A close scrutiny of the specific rules for scoring offences is long overdue. This subject should not be treated as though it were an area incidental to the study of crime. Concrete and realistic solutions to many scoring dilemmas are urgently required. According to Sellin (1951:129) "There is, of course, both a physical and a financial limit to the scope of official reports, but in view of the tremendous funds spent by any modern State on its machinery of law enforcement broadly conceived, and the even greater social costs of criminality, the comparatively insignificant cost of good statistics that offer a maximum of data useful for the study of criminality ought to be considered

not merely a wise but also a necessary investment."

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

A. Historical

A better understanding of the present complexities of crime reporting in Canada can only be understood when placed in perspective with the evolution of this system. A search of available literature revealed that no efforts had ever been made to elucidate the history of crime reporting in Canada. To write a comprehensive treatise on the evolution of the UCR process when nothing presently exists in current literature has been no small task.

It is known that the present National crime reporting system began on January 1st, 1962, under the auspices of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Meetings were conducted in order to establish the parameters and nature of crime reporting in Canada. The minutes of all meetings held between the DBS and representatives of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police have been obtained from Statistics Canada. To obtain any kind of meaningful chronology of events it was necessary to synthesize the data acquired. Further, any inconsistencies in these minutes required that both past and present members of the Uniform Crime Reporting Sub-Committee be contacted for the necessary clarification.

B. Review of UCR Manual

The first phase of this intended research will require a complete review of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. This phase will require the identification of deficiencies from not only

available literature, but also by closely examining the extent to which various sections of the Manual are either vague, inconsistent, or contradictory. In addition, a critical examination will be required to determine areas lacking adequate scoring direction in terms of practical police problems.

Once these alleged deficiencies have been documented a discussion will follow each one identifying the reason for its inclusion in this particular list. On the basis of these contentious recording areas, realistic offence circumstances will be formulated to depict these "trouble spots". Great care will be required to ensure these illustrations require an appeal to the disputed section or sections of the UCR Manual.

These scoring (coding) examples will be typed up on official-looking police complaint forms. It should be emphasized, however, that despite these examples being placed on these official-looking forms, they will not be in the form of official-looking police complaints. The offence descriptions will place the officer at the scene instead of being descriptions which might have come from an officer who was at the scene. This will be necessary in order to condense what, in many cases, would likely be a lengthy report or reports. Great care will be required to preserve those details which would be important to police in the coding of each offence description. Additionally, these examples did not have file numbers on them since this would disrupt and be inconsistent with the sequential numbering systems used by the RCMP. Further, since this coding "package" was distributed throughout Alberta (see Sampling) it will not be practical to

change the names of locations or communities. It should also be mentioned that by virtue of the geographical distribution of police detachments throughout Alberta, it will not be feasible to surreptitiously have these occurrences coded.

As a result of these practical constraints, the coding examples will be sent out by mail in accordance with a sampling technique which will be discussed in greater detail shortly. These coding examples will have a covering letter which will communicate the fact that the recipient has been randomly selected to participate in research into uniform crime reporting. This letter will state that the research was undertaken as part of the requirements for an M.A. Because some of the recipients would no doubt recognize the author's name and some perhaps wouldn't, the covering letter will indicate that the author is, in fact, a member of the RCMP. In this way the injection of bias by virtue of those recipients that might and those that might not recognize the name of the author should be eliminated. Further, any bias that might result from having such a request made "officially" (i.e. from Division Headquarters of the RCMP) should also be eliminated. It will be requested that the coding situations be completed with the proper authority (i.e. the specific rule that "legitimizes" each individual scoring choice for that coder) being provided from the UCR Manual. Once completed, it will be requested that the scoring examples be returned to the author's residence. A copy of the covering letter that will be disseminated, as well as the coding examples, is attached as Appendix "G". Further, a reminder letter is also included.

C. Sampling

Since RCMP Detachments are scattered throughout Alberta, serious sampling problems emerge. RCMP units that reflect a variety not only of locations, but also of policing responsibilities (i.e. rural and municipal policing) will be selected from throughout Alberta. There are approximately 60 Municipal, and 105 Rural policing locations for the RCMP throughout this Province. They are organized into ten administrative divisions called Sub-Divisions. Many of the Detachments within these Sub-Divisions are combined administratively in such a way that one coder would do the scoring of offences for both the Rural and Municipal units. Accordingly, two lists will be prepared - one list indicating all those units within each RCMP Sub-Division that are administratively combined, and one list of those not so combined. From these lists, a stratified random sample will be taken to identify the specific units to be surveyed. If this procedure were not used, the result would be that in many cases an individual coder would be completing two identical scoring questionnaires - one for the Rural and one for the Municipal unit since both could be selected through sampling. A list of the specific Detachments to be sampled is attached as Appendix H.

In total, 22 questionnaires were returned. This represents a response rate of 63%. Of the 22 received, 2 were returned but were not completed. A memorandum was attached in both cases which stated that the recipient was simply too busy to accommodate this request. Several other recipients telephoned to advise that they had no intention of completing this document

because it was a "waste of time" and was just another administrative task being asked of them which would serve no purpose. In brief then, 20 questionnaires (57%) were completed in sufficient detail that they could be used in the analysis that will follow. Observations respecting these questionnaires will be presented in the next Chapter.

Several factors should perhaps be considered at this point in qualification of this response rate. By virtue of the type of work performed, the police community may well be a suspicious group. When a document such as this questionnaire is presented to them for completion the law enforcement community may be concerned with the existence of an ulterior motive. While assurances can be made respecting such things as anonymity, concerns may still linger. Police departments cannot be sure of the uses to which the results will be put. Several questionnaires were received back, for example, which requested that some idea be given certain respondents as to "how they did". The implication that is clear is that at least some of the respondents felt they were being "graded" on their replies. This type of concern indicates that law enforcement personnel may suspect that the intention of this questionnaire may be different from that stated in the covering letter of March 28th. Further, most of the recipients would have little or no experience with the methodological requirements of an empirical endeavour such as this.

As has been mentioned throughout this thesis, UCR and statistics may be unpalatable to some members of the police community. They may have little insight into the uses of such data

with the exception that it is somehow used in assessing their resource requirements. Further, police personnel may be inclined to feel that they joined a particular agency to do police work and not to shuffle paper. Accordingly, this questionnaire might be viewed by some in the police world as simply another administrative task which would be of no immediate benefit to them or the policemen at their Detachment. If the above speculation has any veracity then a dilemma may well exist. On the one hand, a usable response rate of 57% should be considered extremely good. Concurrently, however, this attitude may have implications vis-a-vis the validity of the responses to the questionnaire. By virtue of conducting this research as a private citizen as opposed to through official RCMP channels, there can be no guarantee that coders completed the questionnaire in the same way they would have completed actual scoring problems arising from their Detachment activities. It has been mentioned previously, however, that had official RCMP channels been utilized this may also have resulted in the injection of bias.

It is important to remember that the questionnaires were summarized in terms of the consistency of responses and not in terms of being "right" or "wrong". By dealing with the responses in this way any adverse reflection on the validity of the results due to the chosen methodology will be hopefully minimized.

D. Audits

In addition to the methodology specified above, a series of "audits" (or visits) will be undertaken. The purpose of

this is two-fold:

- (1) to accumulate data for use in the critical review of the UCR Manual which is unavailable by any other means, and,
- (2) to critically discuss difficulties which are inherent in assessing the "accuracy" of official police statistics.

(1) Perhaps one of the most controversial areas of the UCR Manual relates to the efficacy of the Multiple Offence Rule. It is regarded as restrictive and prohibitive by the police community but essential for Statistics Canada purposes. Confidential police files had to be examined to determine the frequency of Multiple Offence situations. Of concern was not only the frequency but the number of offences that are involved in these situations. This examination was necessary in order to fully discuss areas of concern in this Manual and to form a basis upon which meaningful recommendations for change could be formulated.

(2) The use of the word "accuracy" in connection with police statistics may be not only inappropriate but also meaningless. According to Paragraph 1.10 of the UCR Manual, "Statistics Canada conducts a continuing program of quality controls and editing procedures to ensure the accuracy of the reported data....." It is known that Statistics Canada personnel "audit" or examine police files to determine the consistency of coding with the UCR rules. Questions arise, however, as to the merit of this approach - especially if conflicting advice is

apparent in the coding manual. Who is right - the coder or the auditor in circumstances of conflict? The use of what may be a weak coding manual would seem to have serious implications for any effort to assess the "accuracy" of what is coded with the UCR Manual as a guide.

The following Detachments will be visited for the purpose of an audit:

- Grand Center Municipal
- Grand Center Rural
- Bonnyville Municipal
- Bonnyville Rural
- Red Deer Rural
- Rocky Mountain House Municipal
- Calgary Rural Detachment
- Banff Detachment
- Valleyview Municipal
- Valleyview Rural
- St. Albert Municipal
- St. Albert Rural
- Faust

These units were selected because they include a variety of policing responsibilities in communities of varying size throughout Alberta. In addition, personal relationships have been established at these units.

E. File Selection

Several file "categories" exist within the records system of the RCMP. No detailed description need be provided here except that since police agencies typically use Criminal Code incidents as a "barometer" of policing activities and since this category of crime comprises a large segment of policing workloads, this particular file group was monitored. (In addition, it is this category which is used most often by academics, the media, and so forth.) There is absolutely no reason to speculate that the coding or scoring of offences would be any different in this category than in any other such as "Federal" or "Provincial Statute" matters. In fact, all units that were visited had many Criminal Code files whereas this was not the case with some of these other categories.

A systematic random sample with a random start will be used. This will be applied by examining the ledgers maintained at each Detachment which list the file numbers of each investigation. The total number of Criminal Code offences can therefore be tallied. This total will then be divided by whatever figure is required to reduce this sample size to about 100 files which take approximately two days to thoroughly examine. Most of the files will involve offences occurring throughout calendar year 1979. (There is no reason to expect that the frequency of Multiple offence situations is any different from one year to the next nor would the number of offences "masked" by this rule be contingent on the year, season, etc.) The total volume of files will vary with the particular unit. It may be feasible to examine all files at some units while others may require a reduction in total volume by one-half, one-sixth, and so on in order to reduce the sample size

sufficiently.

Once the necessary skip interval has been determined, it will then be necessary to randomize the selection of specific files. That is, once it has been decided to select 1 file in 3, it will then be necessary to determine the specific file to be examined. In order to accomplish this in a random fashion a number will be selected at random to identify the beginning position in the ledger. If every fourth file (as listed in the ledger) is to be selected then a random number between 1 and 4 will be selected to identify the starting point. (If, for example, the number 3 were to be selected then the file listed in the 3rd position, and every fourth file thereafter will be examined.) Because the ledgers are maintained by Criminal Code category, by month of reporting, this will also ensure a selection of files representative of the entire year or portion thereof to the date of the visit. This should serve to minimize any contamination of results that might surface if all files were selected from a more narrow period of time.

On the basis of this sampling procedure, some 1,058 files were examined. Each file was judged in terms of its consistency with UCR scoring rules. Those coding situations which seemed to be at variance with coding requirements were discussed at a meeting held with the specific coder or his superior. In order for a file to have been considered in error, a consensus was required that, indeed, the coding decision was in clear violation of existing UCR rules. In cases where the efficacy of a coding decision was less clear then the file was deemed to have been coded

correctly. An overall error rate was then calculated for each unit. In this way, estimations of error were established throughout the entire sample and throughout all RCMP contributors in Alberta. It is important to remember that any absolute concept of error in UCR is very difficult to define because of a lack of clear rules. What is eventually required are rules which are so clear there can be little doubt as to the proper manner in which incidents should be coded. The RCMP generate approximately half the criminal statistics in this Province and hence exert a sizeable influence on the accuracy of the overall statistical information available about the Province.

It is important to realize that no hard and fast "rate of error" can or will be assigned. The audits were conducted in this fashion to assess traditional methods of determining accuracy in crime statistics (e.g. the Statistics Canada audits mentioned previously) and NOT to attempt to duplicate such methods. In addition, an assessment will be made of the Multiple Offence Rule in this fashion.

F. Operational Definitions

- 1) File - throughout this thesis "file" will be used synonymously with "investigation" i.e. a formal or official examination undertaken by the police agency.
- 2) Error - will include mistakes in coding, the improper categorization of offences in terms of the UCR process, a lack of sufficient detail on the

investigation to support the scoring choices available, or any other entry or omission which is not consistent with the UCR rules.

- 3) Error Rate - the number of files identified as being inconsistent with existing scoring rules divided by the sample size and converted to a percentage.
- 4) Scoring - will refer to the entire process of examining information received by the police with a view to reducing this detail in order to comply with UCR requirements.
- 5) Audit - the reading of police reports to become familiar with the nature and circumstances of an alleged crime and comparing the recording of the statistical sequences with the UCR rules to determine consistency.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING MANUAL

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS OF UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING MANUAL

A. Introduction

In the discussion that follows, selected areas of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual will be discussed. Only critical areas will be addressed - areas that, from a close examination of the Manual, appear to be impractical, vague, inconsistent or contradictory. Obviously many of the scoring rules must be omitted. This Chapter will rely heavily on the results of the questionnaire administered. As indicated in the previous Chapter, a response rate of 63% was obtained with some 57% overall being suitable for use. In the questionnaire disseminated the request was made that in the completion of same the single best authority paragraph be cited from the UCR Manual which best supports the particular coding decision of the respondent. In making this request it was felt that this information would be particularly helpful in the analysis of the coding manual. Specifically, this detail was considered vital in those areas where contradictions in coding rules are apparent. In such areas the questionnaire results would be vital. Methodological problems do exist, however, with the authority paragraph portion of this questionnaire. What has become apparent is that in many cases respondents cited virtually every UCR paragraph which touches an issue as their authority. While this does not destroy the value of the responses it does restrict the use of this aspect of the results. To present all of the authority paragraphs used by all respondents for each coding exercise would be a mammoth task which would result in an

incomprehensible discussion. This task does not seem justified. What is important is that in those discussions where this information is vital the data is of sufficient quality that the results will be shown in the appropriate Appendix and will be discussed in the narrative that follows. For example, Coding exercise #7 describes an offence of impaired driving. As instructions in the Manual (Paragraph 5.15) seem to be concise and easily followed this exercise was formulated as a control question. It is important, therefore, that this authority paragraph be frequently identified by respondents as the "single best". The reason for this over-specification of authorities is not clear. One can only speculate. Citing several authorities for a coding decision may well demonstrate a lack of familiarity with the Manual, itself. As respondents began to go through this document any reference that seemed to pertain to the coding exercise was noted. By the time respondents had gone through the document they may have found several references that seemed even vaguely appropriate. Because of the extra time involved to identify the best authority, many of the respondents may have felt their efforts were sufficient. Again, because of their lack of understanding about the methodological constraints involved together with concerns about the possible use of the research results they may have felt they should "cover all the bases". If respondents did feel that they were being "tested" by this questionnaire then this will have implications for the validity of this research. As previously mentioned, however, the data was summarized in terms of the consistency or inconsistency of coding results among the

respondents. Again, this should serve to minimize negative ramifications for the validity . Clearly, serious methodological issues would emerge had the data been summarized in terms of "right" and "wrong" responses.

A second possible explanation is that the respondents simply did not read the instructions. This possibility does not seem highly probable, however, since most of the questionnaires were, in fact, properly completed. This possibility can therefore be dismissed with a fair degree of confidence.

The final possibility seems to be the most probable. The way the UCR Manual is structured, general scoring rules are located near the beginning with more specific rules located near the back. For example, Paragraph 3.10 provides general direction for processing statistically a "persons" offence and a "property" offence. This provides a fundamental and basic direction to police coders. Concurrently, paragraph 3.11 outlines the procedure to be followed in coding Multiple offences. Finally, paragraph 5.5 deals with the multiple offence rule as it applies to Form "T" offences. In many of the coding exercises one or all of these sections could be properly used to justify a coding choice since to determine the single best would be almost completely arbitrary. In many cases then, it may be difficult if not impossible to identify the single best authority.

This difficulty is certainly not fatal to this research since in areas where authorities are particularly critical the research results, as was explained earlier, can be used with confidence. No effort will be made however, to summarize this.

diverse and sundry information in some of the Appendices nor will specific discussions be undertaken in the narrative that follows. It does, however, demonstrate the difficulty in conducting research in the area of Uniform Crime Reporting.

B. Paragraph 1.6 - Sources of Information

"As police are made aware of offences in several ways, procedures should allow for the recording of data from all sources such as:

(5) private prosecutions of a criminal nature handled completely by the courts concerning offences occurring within your jurisdiction of which the police are made aware, even though they may not be involved in the investigation; for example, by serving a summons or executing a warrant as the result of the laying of a Private Information."

In effect, this dictates that the police must vitiate their data system - an idea that is not likely to be encouraged by senior management of police agencies. Secondly, the example used i.e. "serving a summons or executing a warrant" is misleading. The simple act of serving a summons or executing a warrant is not the type of activity that a police force can score or record on their Uniform Crime Report. There is no category which can be used to identify this activity. Presumably, Statistics Canada is trying to convey the message that if a police force becomes aware of an offence (which is to be reported on U.C.R.) by virtue of having to serve a summons or execute a warrant then this offence should be scored.

The above paragraph is also related to section 1.6 (3) which states that "As police are made aware of offences in several ways, procedures should allow for the recording of data from all sources such as (3) offences coming to the attention of the police on the beat or on patrol, either from their own observation or as reported to them."

It is important in this section that due weight be given to the word "offences". It is common that policemen performing beat duties come upon many situations that could easily result in the scoring of a series of self-generated matters. For example, it is quite common to find the door of a business premise has been left open only to be discovered by a policeman on the beat. An investigation is conducted but nothing is found to be missing. The door appears simply to have been left unlocked. The store manager will be contacted and the premise secured. NO offence has been committed and hence cannot legitimately be scored on U.C.R. It is quite common to record these situations as 1 break and enter "reported", and 1 "unfounded". Obviously, these self-generated non-offence matters will lead to an inflation of criminal statistics if scored.

C. Paragraph 1.8

According to this section, "Some municipalities are excluded from reporting as they have no organized full-time police force enforcing all laws. Where this occurs, the data are reported by the provincial police force having jurisdiction." This expectation on the part of Statistics Canada is not realistic.

Sub-paragraph (vi) on page 1B indicates that "the editing, compilation and publication of the data by Statistics Canada are helpful to police administrators.....in the interpretation of crime trends at the national, provincial and municipal levels." It is clearly recognized (and even suggested) then that U.C.R. statistics are available to aid the police administrator. At the same time, police administrators are being asked to record offences as though they were their own i.e. record these offences in with their own data. The obvious consequence will be that little or no effort will be made to obtain statistics from any other agency since to do so will pollute the data base so desperately needed to form the basis of the tactical police problems of the particular agency.

To render concrete the above point, several significant examples can be used. Police agencies tend to have differing formulas to compute workload indicators which predicate any assessment of manpower requirements. One way in which this is done can be to divide total criminal code matters by the number of peace officers available to respond to it. If efforts are made to keep a balance of workload between policemen (throughout the Province) then the injection of several hundred criminal code cases in a geographical location will serve only to disrupt a data base which will be jealously protected. A common example of what happens involves offences of Theft of Telecommunication Service (Section 287 of the Criminal Code). Investigations of this sort are normally (in Alberta at least) conducted by security personnel from the telephone company but for statistical purposes should properly be

scored by the police force in whose area the offences occurred. If a small police department or RCMP Detachment of 3 men investigate a total of 300 criminal code matters then each individual can be assumed to have handled $300 \div 3 = 100$ criminal code cases per man per year. In the case of thefts of communications, it is not uncommon to have 200 or 300 separate and distinct offences as these phone calls (which is the usual situation) are often billed to someone else's number and happen at different times and places. Therefore, if this small agency were to score say 200 offences of this nature that occurred in their area, the consequence would be $300 + 200 = 500$ divided by 3 = 166.7 criminal code cases per year per man. This will have profound implications for resourcing because of the illusory imbalance in workloads which result.

It is precisely for this reason that senior management of police agencies would not likely endorse this Statistics Canada policy. While no directive can be published by that police agency prohibiting the scoring of such information, little effort would likely be made to recover statistically such offence information. This action is easily rationalized by the police force. It is easy to assume that Statistics Canada are well aware of the lack of realism demonstrated by this policy and hence must tacitly agree. A further concern is that if one police administrator actively solicits these types of statistics he will be able to inflate his volume of crime substantially vis-a-vis other police agencies. Police departments that perform policing services to a Province under contract (e.g. the RCMP, Ontario Provincial Police, and the

Quebec Police Force) are in an even more difficult position since these agencies have police detachments dispersed throughout the Provinces. Competition traditionally unfolds between these various Detachments over scarce human resources. Some of these Detachments may include data from other investigative bodies with their own in order to acquire resourcing benefits at the expense of another Detachment whose manager demonstrates less initiative in securing statistics from these other agencies. Clearly, there is a serious conflict between the requirements of Statistics Canada and the police community with the result that sections such as the above receive what might euphemistically be described as a "de-emphasis".

The amount of knowledge about crime rendered unavailable because of the types of contingencies discussed above, cannot be determined with precision. The unfortunate part is that fragmentation exists so that in some areas statistics from some investigative bodies may be gleaned while others may not. In many cases, the loss of statistical information can be substantial with our knowledge of crime and its location decreasing accordingly.

Good examples of this are instances in which Military Police are to be found on armed forces bases. Canadian Forces Base Medley (near Grand Center, Alberta) is comprised of some 10,000 military personnel and their families. Police service is provided by the Military Police who are not contributors under the uniform crime reporting system. Technically, the investigation of serious offences is the responsibility of the RCMP Detachment stationed

only a few miles away in Grand Center. In practice, however, most serious crime is handled by the Military Police. Consequently, this crime never gets reported since the RCMP are not encouraged to place offences which were not investigated by their own personnel on their UCR returns since this data is used for manpower and resourcing purposes. No estimates are available as to the extent and seriousness of crime occurring on this military base. This situation likely occurs at other military establishments as well.

Additional examples exist of investigative bodies which generate criminal statistics. In Alberta, these are:

- a. Ministry of Transport Aeronautics Act investigators
- b. Revenue Canada
- c. Alberta Government Telephones
- d. Solicitor General's Highway Patrol
- e. Military Police
- f. County police
- g. Consumer and Corporate Affairs
- h. Indian Tribal Police
- i. Unemployment insurance investigators

As in the case of the military police, no estimates are available as to the number of offences processed by the above agencies. It can be speculated, however, that collectively the statistical impact would be substantial.

Clearly, the police contributor sits on the horns of a dilemma when asked to submit statistics on behalf of a non-contributing agency. On the one hand, he feels compelled to

comply with Statistics Canada requirements while on the other he is aware that to do so will render his statistical data virtually meaningless for resource management. No reporting process is either suggested or in place which would ensure that provincial police forces having jurisdiction are notified by other investigative bodies, of offences being investigated by these non-contributors. This then leaves a Detachment commander in a position where, if he were to comply with Statistics Canada rules, he must actively solicit this criminal information - a process few field policemen would admit to having time for. These commanders could feel they are already over-worked and to burden them with additional responsibilities may be a most difficult thing to sell.

Two possible solutions seem to exist with respect to this reporting dilemma. The first is to have Statistics Canada expand the number of contributors to UCR to include the types of investigative bodies mentioned above. This would remove the onus for securing such data from the provincial police force. One serious problem, however, is that it will be difficult to specifically identify the geographical area in which the offence occurred. A more complete discussion of this will be undertaken shortly. This will be necessary in order that this data be added to other statistical information received from the police department to ensure accuracy in the computation of crime rates. It is important to remember that many of the investigative units mentioned above may be based out of regional or provincial offices and cover huge areas of the Province. It is conceivable, however, that a sequence of sub-codes could be used on these

statistical contributions identifying the specific area in which offences occurred thus satisfying the requirement of geographical reporting of offence information.

A second alternative to the noted dilemma would be for these non-contributing agencies to complete some type of "supplementary" UCR form. This would be done on a monthly basis in accordance with Statistics Canada requirements and would identify the offences investigated within the geographical jurisdiction of another police agency. This document could then be forwarded to the police agency having jurisdiction to be appended to their own UCR submission. This supplementary data could then be included in with the information received from the police agency for appropriate submission and could be easily separated (by automated means) eliminating any concern about a vitiation of management data.

The above suggestions are only two of several feasible ways to maximize the amount of data on crime that is available. Indeed, complete coverage may never be achieved. The examples mentioned above suggest glaring omissions in the statistical coverage of crime that is known to an investigative body but which are never recovered statistically. The problem seems clear (as do possible solutions). Remedial action requires this issue be addressed. The following recommendation results:

Recommendation #1: The uniform crime reporting system in Canada should be expanded to include investigative bodies which, at present, do not contribute criminal statistics.

D. Paragraph 1.9

According to this instruction, "Duplication of reporting statistical data must be avoided. Report only those cases occurring in your geographical jurisdiction. Cases involving assistance to the police of another geographical jurisdiction must not be reported in your returns as they will be counted by the police department concerned. Similarly, arrests made or summonses served for another police force are not to be counted in your returns. Offences arising in one geographical jurisdiction which are resolved by the arrest of the offender in another geographical jurisdiction are dealt with in Paragraph 3.45 (a),(b), and (c)."

The above instruction conspicuously omits defining "geographical jurisdiction". In most cases the wording of this paragraph seems clear but, in fact, it is totally inadequate from a practical, working perspective.

Municipal police departments would normally have little difficulty in adhering to the requirements as specified above. Provincial police forces are not so fortunate, however. Typically, such departments have sections that concentrate on investigations of a highly specialized type of crime e.g. large business frauds, customs or excise act offences, offences related to the Immigration Act, and so forth. Because of the specialized nature of their work it is most practical and cost effective to locate these specialized squads in strategic areas throughout the Province. Many of these

units contribute their own statistical information under the UCR program. The problem arises in that they often have a "geographical jurisdiction" which includes a large segment of the Province. This jurisdiction then may well include numerous different police agencies or many, many Detachments of the Provincial police force. The question then arises as to what "geographical jurisdiction" are they to be responsive to vis-a-vis crime statistics? Technically, such units can legitimately code (on their own UCR forms) all criminal data within their own "geographical jurisdiction" i.e. within the segment of the Province they are responsible for. This practice, however, creates fragmentation of the UCR system in that it will preclude the calculation of accurate crime rates for specific areas. In other words, while it would still be possible to determine with reasonable precision how much crime occurred within an entire Province, there will be serious gaps in rates of crime calculated for portions of the Province or for Municipal areas.

As in preceding discussions, a dilemma is presented to UCR contributors. Senior police officials try to evaluate and monitor the activities, efficiency, and effectiveness of personnel under their command. Any available output criteria forms the basis of this appraisal. Since the UCR system has been in place for many years, police agencies are inclined to use the statistical results that accrue from this program rather than establishing an additional reporting system that might better meet their administrative needs.

Tremendous pressures are exerted on police managers to be accountable for the money and resources being expended on policing programs - programs that rely on public funds. Increasingly, government spending in Canada has been questioned. There is no reason to expect anything but an increase in this philosophy of accountability. The result, of course, is an increasing reliance upon available statistical data bases of which the UCR system is an integral part.

The dilemma facing the police agency, then, is whether compliance with Statistics Canada policy in relation to reporting jurisdictions should be endorsed thereby precluding meaningful workload indicators (i.e. assuming that Statistics Canada wish crime information that is accurate to the community or local level) or whether this nebulous coding requirement should be ignored (and this could be easily rationalized since "reporting jurisdiction" is vague, at best) in favour of what is perceived to be a meaningful workload statistic.

An additional complication is injected into this situation when different Provincial policies are examined. In some provinces (e.g. those that are policed by the RCMP) most specialized units submit their UCR data on their own forms while in other Provinces, very few of these specialized sections submit. The implication of this is that in some Provinces reasonably accurate crime information is available to the local level while in other Provinces, accurate data are available only

with respect to that entire Province. Apart from the obvious problems this creates in using the data, a more subtle problem ensues. This particular situation never becomes apparent - i.e. it is not possible to identify reporting policies within geographical jurisdictions when this resultant data is published. Further, in trying to use this statistical information, the user is often unaware of even the types of anomalies that can creep into data. Traditionally, such data are accepted at face value as being a reflection of valid criminal information.

On the basis of the foregoing, the following recommendation must result:

Recommendation #2: The instruction contained in Paragraph 1.9 should be clarified to indicate that "geographical jurisdiction" refers to the smallest geographic area possible. Normally, this will be to the local police detachment or municipal level.

This recommendation will obviously require that in some cases, police departments will be required to relinquish data that are available to them and which they use for resourcing purposes. While this change will be of concern to such agencies, it is essential for the collection of meaningful criminal statistics that police needs and desires be made subordinate to interests of municipal, provincial, and federal authorities - authorities normally charged with the responsibility of monitoring the crime situation and

subsequently to establish and administer appropriate policies.

E. Paragraph 1.10 - Control and Editing

"Statistics Canada conducts a continuing program of quality controls and editing procedures to ensure the accuracy of the reported data. Correspondence is exchanged with contributors to clarify data and to ensure that returns are submitted on time".

An automated edit procedure is used by Statistics Canada in the quality control of input documents. This program is designed in such a way that obvious errors and errors in logic are "flagged" (i.e. they can be printed out by the computer after having been identified as being illogical, etc.). For example, if a contributor identifies one injury motor vehicle accident on Form T but does not include information on this same form with respect to how many people were injured then this discrepancy will be identified. In theory, this edit procedure sounds extremely efficient. In practice, however, nothing could be further from the truth. While the software design permits a print out of the number of errors it can only identify the more obvious mistakes in each submission. Only a few of them are actually printed out to be followed up on by the contributing department. The remainder of the errors are permitted to pass with the knowledge of their existence.

The proportion of errors that are printed out compared with the total number of errors identified is not known precisely but it is known that this proportion is quite small.

To reiterate, this situation applies only to the more obvious mistakes. A tremendous number of more subtle errors and omissions can be made on each statistical form which go undetected despite the most rigorous editing process. It seems reasonable to assume that errors will exist in these various submissions from field contributors (this will be discussed in greater detail shortly) which are sufficiently subtle to go undetected. Hence, the more obvious errors and errors in logic should certainly be challenged. Only the naive would suggest that statistical submissions should be completely error-free. Given the number of contributors to this system this is not realistic. The technology exists (and is in place) however, which would permit the elimination of much of this error but is, unfortunately, not being pursued.(2)

A second problem exists with the edit program of Statistics Canada. Occasionally data will be published on crime statistics for the Province of Alberta allegedly for all contributors for the entire calendar year. In some cases, for example the 1978 crime data for the Province of Alberta, it has later been learned that the published data did not include any information on crime from a particular contributor (in this case it was the Calgary City Police for the entire month of September). Given the volume of offences that would have been scored by this agency, published data on Alberta for 1978 would be extremely distorted. Crime decreases for Alberta may have been shown whereas an increase would be more realistic. It is not known whether this problem is unique to Alberta or not.

Accordingly, the following recommendation must be made:

Recommendation #3: The edit package available for use by Statistics Canada should be used to its fullest extent.

This applies not only to the edit package used in the verification of data received from the contributor but also to verifications that all contributed information has been included in published information. Failure to do this results in tremendous discrepancies in the data with obvious confusion in its use.

F. AUDITS

Quality control procedures utilized by Statistics Canada personnel involve visits to contributing police departments with the express purpose of examining the coding on police reports for consistency with the rules of scoring as dictated by the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. While this approach is noble in intent, it is disastrous in practice.

No written methodology exists which explains the audit procedures used by Statistics Canada. No consistency from one audit to the next is the likely result. It is readily apparent that the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and Statistics Canada have not come to grips with this problem.

In the United States, first attempts to develop an audit/verification capability were begun in 1974. Resolutions passed at the International Association of Chiefs of Police

(IACP) meetings began American UCR efforts in this direction.

According to the IACP Audit/ Evaluation Manual (1976, p.2)

"While various resolutions have been passed at several IACP Annual Conference.....be it further resolved, that the IACP reaffirm to the Department of Justice the wholehearted support and cooperation of the Police Chiefs of the Nation in carrying on this work.....and that their reports to the Department of Justice may be made in increasing numbers and with increasing accuracy.....(1930).....be it resolved that the IACP ...take immediate steps toward the establishment of a staff to work in conjunction with and under the supervision of the UCR committee, andthat such staff and Committee accept responsibility for the accuracy of the data forwarded by the members of the Association to the FBI for publication.....and...visit periodically reporting agencies and audit reports submitted....(1957)

....Further,....whereas, accurate crime statistics are essential to all components of the Criminal Justice System....it is hereby resolved by the IACP that...all local law enforcement agencies develop effective internal management controls to insure the accurate and reliable recording and reporting of all crime known to them....(1972)".

"The first attempts to develop an audit/verification capability were begun in 1974. Under an LEAA grant....an audit technique was developed and subsequently pretested in five law enforcement agencies....the IACP Audit/Evaluation procedure consists of a preliminary evaluation, an inspection of the

primary data or information sources, and a post-audit analysis.....The audit procedure itself is based on the principles of probability sampling and is conducted by drawing a random sample of items at vulnerable stages in the incident reporting system." (IACP Manual, 1976: 4)

Unfortunately, no similar efforts have been undertaken by UCR-CACP personnel in this country. Auditing procedures have not been formalized with the obvious lack of standardization resulting. Each auditor has been left to his own ingenuity when it comes to such problems as selecting the units to be audited and in deciding what files to be selected and over what period of time.

This lack of standardization has serious implications for the UCR process in Canada. Obviously, audits conducted at one time and in one place by one individual will not have any comparative value to audits undertaken at another time and place by a different auditor since no standard methodology (e.g. sampling procedures) has been used.

A second difficulty that arises with auditing relates to the question as to who is right - the auditor or the coder in situations where a good deal of judgment is involved in the interpretation of scoring rules as contained in the Manual? Indeed, many crime situations are extremely complex rendering the scoring of same a matter of judgment. In many places the UCR manual (as will be demonstrated shortly) requires a good deal of interpretation. In areas which are ambiguous or vague who is right - the auditor or the police coder?

Care should be taken that one does not become confused by the points raised in this discussion. No suggestion is being made that standardizing the Canadian audit procedure will directly contribute to such a clarity in interpretation. It does seem reasonable, however, that by providing a standardized audit procedure, greater clarity would be forth-coming as to what, in fact, constitutes an error. Presumably, some latitude would be given the coder in areas which are highly judgmental but the question which begs an answer is how much latitude would be granted before variance would be considered in error?

The lack of standardization is a serious short-coming in the Canadian UCR system generally and with the UCR audit program specifically. Many different file categories could be selected for audit purposes. For example, one auditor could look at Criminal Code, Federal, Traffic, Municipal and Provincial File categories while another auditor could choose to examine only one or two of these offence categories. What normally occurs is that the number of files examined which contain apparent inconsistencies (with the coding rules) is divided by the total number of files examined and this is then converted to a per cent. The result of this simple calculation then becomes the "error rate". A tremendous difference exists, however, in the particular file category utilized in this calculation. For example, if a Provincial category were to be examined, a tremendous number of straightforward coding examples can be found since a disproportionate number of liquor and traffic

offences will emerge. These offences typically involve only one offence with a single offender thus eliminating many complicated coding situations. Indeed, the UCR Manual requires only that traffic tickets issued be added together and shown as a grand total under Classification Code 120 on the Form T. Obviously, an error rate can be diluted if this category were to be used.

Another simple way to keep error rates at a minimum is to select files which are strictly "assistance" cases. Generally, all classifications of files mentioned above (i.e. Criminal Code, Federal, etc.) can be classified broadly as those which are reportable on UCR and those which are not - i.e. matters strictly involving "assistance". An example of this latter type would involve a case where a summons is served for another jurisdiction or a warrant executed. Selecting files from the "assistance" category (and considering it to be correct in terms of the audit if it has not been coded on UCR) will decrease the error rate. Conversely, if all files audited were selected from Criminal Code or Federal Statute categories a substantially different error rate will emerge.

It follows, therefore, that the following recommendation be made:

Recommendation #4: A high priority should be given to the development of a formal audit/evaluation Manual which would standardize the auditing procedure in Canada for Uniform Crime Reporting.

As has been shown, the lack of such a document renders the

value of assigning rates of error to UCR coding moot. The only time such as assignment does make sense is if the basis of the calculation is made explicit.

Several different levels of audits exist. Not only do Statistics Canada personnel conduct them, but virtually every police agency in Canada has a department (or at least one individual) whose concern it is to ensure the accurate submission of data by members of that organization. In the case of many police departments it is the mandate of a Planning Section. It seems reasonable to assume that the sampling procedures may be fairly consistent within such a section, although tremendous variation will probably exist between sections.

G. Unfounding

In the discussion that follows, reference will be made to several Paragraphs from the UCR Manual. These paragraphs will be quoted for easy reference:

i) Paragraph 3.4:- Column 2 - 'Reported or Known to Police' (include unfounded offences). Subject to the following rules score: (1) Offences, (2) alleged offences, and (3) Attempted offences. These offences are to be reported in the month they become known to the police (See Paras. Assistance Cases and 3.45 (a) (b) and (c), Geographical Jurisdiction Reporting).

ii) Paragraph 3.5: "As citizens are not generally qualified to define the type of crime committed, care should be

taken in scoring the offence in the appropriate category. For instance, assaults or domestic quarrels are sometimes reported to police as murders or attempted murders."

iii) Paragraph 3.6: "In these situations the proper offence classification should only be determined by the police through an on the scene appraisal, or assessment of the circumstances as described by the complainant. An example of this is a telephone complaint that a robbery has occurred. Police investigation establishes the offence was not a robbery but rather a theft or a break and enter. The offence classified and scored would be the theft or the break and enter."

iv) Paragraph 3.15: "Column 3 - Unfounded, Unfounded means that the police investigation has established a crime did not happen or was not attempted e.g. you receive a report of house-breaking. Investigation indicates that a man climbed through a window in his own home. He had locked himself out by mistake. A neighbour thought he was a burglar and called the police."

v) Paragraph 3.16: "Do not 'unfound' an offence because property reported stolen is not located, is of little value, or a victim of any crime refuses to prosecute."

vi) Paragraph 3.17: "Do not classify, score, and 'unfound' incidents solely on the basis of information received, particularly when the complaint is received by telephone."

vii) Paragraph 3.18: "Column 4 - 'Actual Number' By subtracting figures in column 3 from those in column 2, the actual number of offences is determined."

Because of their relationship to each other, each of the above paragraphs will be considered concurrently.

Perhaps no area of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual is as vague as the paragraphs quoted above. The reason for this may not be immediately apparent but as soon as the requirement exists to appeal to these authorities, complex problems quickly emerge.

It will be shown that "reported" crime is felt to be a useful indicator of criminality. It represents a position relatively high on the "crime funnel". Additionally, to the police community it is believed to be one of the best indicators of workload requirements. Since "Actual" offences (Paragraph 3.18 above) are the result of subtracting "Unfounded" incidents from "Reported" crime, it has traditionally been argued that crime "Reported" is the best indicator of workload since, on occasion a good deal of investigative time is consumed in "Unfounding" incidents. This suggestion has often been accorded the status of a truism and has rarely been challenged. This fact is further reinforced when major Canadian Police forces use "Reported" Criminal Code offences divided by the manpower, to establish a caseload per man.

Paragraph 3.4 suggests that offences, alleged offences, and attempted offences are to be reported in the month they become known. At the same time, a caution is issued that care should be taken in scoring the offence to the proper category since citizens are not generally qualified to define the type of crime committed. Further, Paragraph 3.6 suggests

that the appropriate offence classification can only be determined after an on the scene appraisal has been made or an assessment is conducted of the circumstances as described by the Complainant.

The dilemma presented then is that, on the one hand, alleged offences are to be scored while, on the other, these allegations may be incorrect and should be verified. By examining a few plausible offence situations the difficulties with this advice will become apparent:

(i) A telephone call is received at a local police station to the effect that an automobile has been stolen from in front of a residence. The police notify all of their personnel to watch for this vehicle and a description is afforded. An hour later the complainant calls back to state that the vehicle had not been stolen at all but that his wife had been using same.

How then, given the benefit of UCR advice, would this incident be coded? Certainly it is an alleged offence and according to Paragraph 3.4 should be scored. The situation is complicated, however, by virtue of Paragraph 3.5 wherein it states that citizens are not generally qualified to define the type of offence committed. Further, an on the scene appraisal was not undertaken and would have revealed only that no car was in front of the residence. This would certainly not substantiate the commission of an offence.

Consider a second example:

(ii) A telephone call is received from an irate citizen complaining that his valuable pocket watch was stolen. A policeman attends and discusses the situation with this individual. He insists that he left the watch lying on his kitchen table and when he came home from the store a short time ago he noticed the watch was missing. He admits that he left the door of his residence unlocked during his absence.

Statistics Canada seem to be suggesting that in many cases some on the scene investigation must be made to confirm the offence. In the first example, no on the scene appraisal was undertaken whereas in the second instance it was. In both cases above, even if the police do attend they will hardly be able to assess whether an offence actually did occur. In the case of this second situation, for example, we do not know if this citizen ever had such a watch or if he simply lost same. He may be reporting the matter to the police simply to claim replacement costs on his insurance policy. The suggestion that an on the scene appraisal must be made to confirm the commission of an offence is both unrealistic and ludicrous. In the first place it is simply not possible for the police to attend all such complaints to verify them. Secondly, in many instances little purpose would be served by this verification. If the police did attend they could not possibly know whether the watch or the car had, in fact, been stolen. In many cases, therefore, the credibility of a complainant is of vital importance in the statistical recording of crime. Intuition is required when it

is stated that an on the scene appraisal will somehow contribute to accuracy in the assessment and subsequent recording of crime statistics.

In the case of the watch cited above, it would seem as though a police investigation is required in order to "Unfound" this incident. At the same time, it is doubtful that this matter could legitimately be "Unfounded" since the police may have every reason to believe that an offence had occurred. Concurrently, no criterion is afforded by the UCR Manual respecting what an "Actual" offence is except for Paragraph 3.18. This reference states that an "Actual" offence is the difference between the number "Reported to Police" and the number of offences "Unfounded". Unfortunately, this type of circularity in the scoring rules does not assist the police contributor.

Questions emerge from the previous discussion. Is an on the scene appraisal by the police necessary to score an incident? Under what situations is it necessary? It would seem that the UCR Manual encourages this appraisal before an incident is scored. It does seem reasonable to encourage police departments to assess crime reports before they are made subject to any statistical process. As in the example provided under Paragraph 3.6, it does seem to be a responsible approach to crime reporting. The question then is if an appraisal is required, how long should an incident be left uncoded while an investigation is being conducted? Secondly, if some type of police initiative is required to "get to the bottom" of an allegation

before a crime is recorded, then there is no need to have an "Unfounded" column since an investigation will have determined the veracity of an incident.

There are no easy answers to the questions and issues raised above. Statistics Canada has the onerous mandate of trying to provide guidelines for a broad spectrum of situations. In some places they have done a commendable job but in this area of "Unfounding" their efforts have been less than satisfactory.

In an effort to determine the consistency in scoring given very common complaint situations, Coding examples #4 and #10 were formulated. They are detailed in Appendices I and J respectively.

Coding example #4 describes an incident in which a female alleges she has been physically assaulted by her common-law husband. He apparently punched her causing her eye to be blackened. She is informed that since all police personnel are tied up that she should attend at the police station the next day. The complainant does not show up nor does she further contact the police.

The majority of respondents to this exercise (8 or 40%) indicated that this incident would not be coded on their UCR return. The remainder indicated that this incident should, in fact, be scored (i.e. 60%). Of those respondents indicating this incident would have been coded, 6 would have used classification 017 (Other Assaults) and reflected 1 "Reported" offence, 1 "Actual", and 1 cleared "otherwise". One other respondent would have coded this

similarly but would not have cleared this alleged offence. Four respondents (20%) would have coded this to classification 014 (Assault causing bodily harm) with three of them indicating 1 "Reported" crime, 1 "Actual", and 1 cleared "Otherwise". The remaining respondent using classification 014 would have "Unfounded" this incident. Finally, the last respondent used classification code 012 which is the "Total" line for offences of assault and hence is completely inappropriate. Clearly, the results seem dichotomized with 60% coding this incident and 40% indicating it would not be scored.

In the case of Coding example #10, a situation is described in which a complaint is received that a disturbance is in progress at a particular address. A patrol is made but no evidence of a disturbance could be found. In coding this incident a good deal would depend on the credibility of the complainant - a complainant who is likely unknown to the police coder. Of those completing the questionnaire, 10 (50%) of them would NOT have scored this situation on the Uniform Crime Report. Of the remaining respondents, 20% would have scored such a situation but would have "Unfounded" same. In all of these latter cases, UCR classification code 063 (Disturb the Peace under the Criminal Code) would have been utilized. Of the remaining 30% (6 respondents) 5 of them would have scored this as an "Actual" offence with 3 of them using classification code 063 (as above); 1 using 071 (Wilful Damage Private) and 073 (Other Criminal Code offences). Additionally, one of these respondents cleared this offence as "Otherwise" and

1 respondent indicated that classification Code 107 (Municipal By-Laws) would be used.

Clearly, these examples suggest that a tremendous amount of confusion and inconsistency exists in the way that a very common type of complaint is handled statistically. While differences in the UCR classifications used can hardly be blamed on the rules of scoring that deal with "Unfounding", these data strongly suggest that the UCR Manual is of little assistance to the police community in cases such as these. Clearly, the police respondents were quite divided in the responses to these coding paradigms. It is rare, for example, that a police detachment does not receive a call at least weekly from an individual reporting a car full of teenagers drinking liquor in a motor vehicle. When a peace officer attends, the vehicle has left the area and cannot be located. As is the case in coding exercises #4 and #10, how are the police to properly respond statistically to such matters?

Police agencies, as mentioned, have undertaken studies into criteria which will provide an effective, efficient, and equitable indicator of police workloads. Many departments have settled on using "Reported" Criminal Code matters as a workload barometer. The assumption being made is that if activities which are self-generated were to be used (e.g. liquor or traffic) then units that have an excessive number of men will appear to be extremely busy because they will have the time to generate these statistics. Obviously, other police detachments or units

who can barely keep pace with non-discretionary demand activities will have little time to "inflate" their workload picture. By using reported Criminal Code activity it is assumed that incidents being measured are not subject to any type of deliberate manipulation on the part of police managers. This assumption appears highly tenuous as will be shown presently.

In recent times, governmental restraints have resulted in claims that police agencies are desperately short of manpower. Provincial Police Forces (including the RCMP who police most of the Provinces under contract) which have traditionally been given 100 or 200 additional positions each year have, in recent times, had to settle for only 20 or 30. Obviously if such limited resources are available with a hundred or two hundred police detachments requesting further increases in their establishments, then the competition over these scarce resources can be fierce. Since the units that can demonstrate the greatest need (i.e. normally the greatest statistical need) for these resources will usually be awarded them, it follows that a tremendous amount of emphasis is placed on Reported Criminal Code activities.

The assumption that "Reported" crime is not easily manipulated is, at best, tenuous. Further, the vagueness of the UCR Manual tacitly permits this despite all efforts to monitor police coding through such efforts as auditing. A sufficient lack of specificity exists in the rules governing the "reporting" and the "unfounding" of crimes that police managers are given virtually a

blank cheque in terms of their ability to present any desired case load they want as long as resources are bases on "reported" crime.

Appendix K depicts the percentage of "reported" Criminal Code offences that were "Unfounded" in 1977, 1978, and 1979 in RCMP Divisions across Canada. The data are broken down into Criminal Code Persons, Criminal Code Property, Other Criminal Code, and finally, figures for Total Criminal Code representing the sum total of these three sub-categories. This information is then presented in conjunction with data for the entire RCMP which is represented by "Total Force". Given the volumes of offences, tremendous differences emerge in the proportion of offences "unfounded" - not only by year but also by Criminal Code category. For example, the lower mainland of British Columbia (RCMP Division E#1) "Unfounded" only 9.9% of all Criminal Code offences in 1979. This compares with 16.7% for the RCMP in "G" Division (North West Territories) which should be compared to some 11.8% for the entire RCMP in that year. While this same Division (i.e. "E"#1) "Unfounded" 8.9% of its Property Offences in 1978, "D" Division (Manitoba RCMP) "Unfounded" some 16.2% of the incidents in the same offence category. Many other comparisons can, of course, be made. My intention here is not to provide an in-depth analysis of this data but rather to simply show the wide variation that exists with respect to practices concerning the "Unfounding" of crime. Given the tremendous volume of offences even a very small difference in the overall percentage of

incidents "Unfounded" represents many, many crime situations.

Because of the difficulties associated with (1) arriving at a clearly articulated rule or series of rules governing the "Unfounding" of Reported crime, (2) substantially different rates of "Unfounding" and (3) because "Reported" crime is so easily manipulated (both consciously and unconsciously), the following recommendation must result:

RECOMMENDATION #5: The measurement of "Reported" crime be abandoned by the Uniform Crime Reporting System in Canada. Instead, only "Actual" crime should be recorded.

The above recommendation will no doubt be viewed as highly offensive to anyone familiar with Uniform Crime Reporting and its uses. Some might argue that such a recommendation constitutes nothing more than a "cop out" - a recommendation urged simply because of the complexity of the issue. Others would argue that it would make more sense to simply have police departments change the criteria that they use in their determination of case loads. It will be demonstrated presently that this change in criteria is the only viable solution to a highly problematic issue.

According to Paragraph 3.15 of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual "Unfounded means that the police investigation has established a crime did not happen or was not attempted...". By virtue of this definition, an "Unfounded" incident is one that

simply DID NOT HAPPEN. Regardless of the nature of the original complaint to the police, if an offence did not occur then who is really interested in it? All that this figure really represents is a police workload statistic. If such an "Unfounded" incident means nothing then certainly neither Statistics Canada, government agencies, nor the professional or academic community should be concerned with any loss of information. Uniform Crime Reporting seems to be one of the few areas of government statistics that attempts to measure nothing. The attention of all agencies should be on the crime that does occur.

It would appear that no one is concerned about crime that did not happen i.e. "Reported" crime. The exception to this would be the police community who would violently oppose such a radical solution. They would be deprived of their key resourcing tool. Certainly, their argument for the retention of existing rules would be a difficult obstacle hindering the proposed change.

To abolish measures of "Reported" crime will not, fortunately, deprive police management of an indicator of workloads. If police agencies utilized "Actual" crime in the calculation of manpower requirements an almost identical picture will emerge. "Reported" Criminal Code incidents in RCMP jurisdictions in Alberta were correlated (by means of a Pearson coefficient of correlation) with all "Actual" incidents for the entire calendar year of 1979. A resultant correlation of .99 was obtained. Therefore, if all RCMP Detachments were listed

according to perceived resource requirements on the basis of "Reported" crime, this list would be virtually identical to the one that would be obtained if the less easily manipulated indicator of "Actual" crime was used. It could perhaps be hypothesized that a perfect correlation did not emerge because of inconsistencies in the "Unfounding" of offences.

It should be mentioned at this point that many people have the impression that clearance rates used by the police are calculated by dividing the offences which are cleared, by the number of offences reported in that category and converted to a percentage. This concept of how this calculation is performed is entirely false. Clearance rates are calculated by dividing offences cleared by actual offences and then converting to a percentage. Clearly it would make absolutely no sense to compute this important indicator in any other way. Accordingly no argument for the retention of reported crime could be correctly premised on the notion that to abolish "Reported" crime would be to disrupt traditional methods of performing this calculation.

In summation then, the abolition of "Reported" crime would do absolutely no perceived disservice to any user. Clearly, uniformity and simplification in the recording of crime statistically would be the result.

H. Paragraph 3.7

According to this edict, "Do not score as offences

(1) alarms which have been accidentally set off through carelessness or mechanical failure, (2) complaints of persons acting in a suspicious manner, and (3) routine preventative police searches of vehicles, vessels or premises for contraband, liquor, etc."

The above instruction seems to be extremely straightforward. Based on this rule, Coding Example #8 was formulated. This exercise describes a situation in which a peace officer on a routine patrol notices that a burglar alarm located on the exterior of the local bank is ringing. Subsequent investigation revealed the alarm had been activated by a power surge and that no robbery had taken place. As has been mentioned, it was hypothesized that those coding situations that required an appeal to a clear coding rule should result in greater consistency of coding results than those based on more difficult areas of the Manual.

The results of this coding exercise are illustrated in Appendix L. Of the 20 respondents to this question, 18 of them (90%) indicated that they would not code this incident. This is a high rate of consistency. All of those so indicating cited Paragraph 3.7 as the single best authority for their particular decision. Two of the respondents indicated that they would code this incident. As can be seen from Appendix L, both the authority paragraphs used and the UCR classification differ with these respondents.

Coding example #2 was developed to ascertain whether the manner in which a false bank alarm comes to the attention of

the police has any bearing upon coding decisions. This coding exercise suggested that during banking business hours a telephone call was received at the police station from an alarm company indicating that a bank alarm was indicated at the local bank. Upon investigating it was learned that the alarm had been set off accidentally. Hence, in this paradigm, the essential difference is that instead of the police coming across the false bank alarm, the complaint is received by them from a third party - in this case the alarm company. By changing the original circumstances slightly, a difference does emerge with respect to the proportion that coded this incident (albeit not a large difference). By having such a false bank alarm reported to the police by a third party some 25% (5 respondents) indicated they would code this incident. This compares with 10% in the preceding circumstances. Of the 15 indicating that they would not code this, 12 used Paragraph 3.7 (quoted above) as their authority with the remainder using various authorities. It is interesting to note that 1 respondent indicated that this situation would be classified as 018 (Total Robbery - which is simply the total line for Robbery offences and hence completely inappropriate) while 1 other respondent suggested the proper classification was UCR code 021 (Other Robbery). Appendix M illustrates the results of this questionnaire coding exercise.

In summation then, in the case of 3rd party involvement, 5 respondents indicated that they would code this incident while in the case of a policeman responding to this, only 2 respondents coded same. Hence, by changing the

circumstances to alter the manner in which a false bank alarm is reported to the police, a difference emerges with respect to the number of respondents coding this incident. Accordingly, the following recommendation seems appropriate:

RECOMMENDATION #6: Paragraph 3.7 should be amended to include wording to the effect that "alarms which have been accidentally set off through carelessness or mechanical failure are not to be coded on UCR regardless of the manner in which they become known to the police".

This recommendation, of course, assumes that it is Statistics Canada's contention that they do not want any bank alarms coded. Certainly if a decision was made that in cases where a third party report of a bank alarm (which subsequently turns out to be false) should be coded then of course the appropriate change should be made to Paragraph 3.7.

I. Multiple Offences

Paragraph 3.11: "MULTIPLE OFFENCES" - Where several offences occur in one incident, score the most serious offence. The most serious offence is defined as:

(a) the most serious one as measured by the maximum penalty allowed by law;

(b) the offence which is considered the most serious by the police when the penalties are the same;

(c) if you cannot classify by (a) or (b) use the offence

which appears first in the offence classifications."

Paragraph 3.12:

(a) "An example of the use of the multiple offence rule would be a circumstance where a peace officer at the scene of two men causing a disturbance attempts to break up the disturbance and is attacked by one of the participants. Only the assault on police, item 015 should be reported. Or in an incident where several privately owned motor vehicles parked in one block are all sprayed with what appeared to be paint from the same spray can, only one offence of wilful damage, item 071 should be reported.

(b) An example of several separate incidents would involve a fraudulent cheque passer committing a series of offences at different stores in a shipping centre on the same day. Each separate offence should be reported."

Perhaps none of the scoring rules in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual are as contentious as is this particular rule. Further, it is one of the most confusing. The original reason for the inclusion of this rule is not clear. It is suspected that it was incorporated from the UCR system in the United States and presumably was designed to prevent police agencies from inflating their statistics (although this is mere speculation). By utilizing this rule police agencies would not be allowed to inflate their statistical picture by coding each offence encountered and presumably this would standardize coding across Canada. For this reason, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police Uniform Crime Reporting Sub-Committee is anxious that it be retained for use in the Canadian

system.

As was indicated in the first chapter of this thesis, efforts to substantiate the veracity of criminal data or "official counts of crime" (Nettler, 1978) have traditionally come from comparing statistical data gleaned from contributing agencies to such things as self-report studies, observations of criminal activity, surveys of victims, or other measures designed to explore the dimensions of "hidden criminality". Traditional research along this line has not considered one very important point - it is NOT realistic to expect a high, positive correlation between confessions of criminality and official statistics when clearly the police department may not be permitted by virtue of this multiple offence rule to score offences even if they are aware of them.

It is understandable that this rule receives very poor acceptance among the police community - i.e. at the working level of these agencies. Multiple offence situations can involve a tremendous expenditure of resources.(3) Police agencies, as has been mentioned repeatedly throughout this thesis, are in keen competition for manpower. The allocation of resources is generally controlled centrally within these agencies and is distributed (ideally) on the basis of need. Police detachments or precincts, therefore, are extremely concerned that they get "credit" for the work being done. In the case of an agency relying on an index of reported crime, this index will take into consideration only the most serious crime with no awareness of any remaining offences.

According to Paragraph (vi) of the UCR Manual (page 1B), "The editing, compilation and publication of the data by Statistics Canada are helpful to police administrators, persons engaged in law

enforcement, administration of justice, and others interested in the interpretation of crime trends at national, provincial, and municipal levels." Further, (vii) "Statistics as a management device for police administrators can be useful to delineate the nature, extent, and seriousness of the crime and traffic problems facing the department, pinpointing these problems in time and place to provide the information required for the proper allocation of manpower."

It is apparent, then, that Statistics Canada feels UCR data has important uses for a variety of important decision-making bodies. The unfortunate thing is, however, that decision-makers and policy planners are required (by virtue of this prohibitive rule) to make their decisions and plans on the best available statistical information. The multiple offence rule prohibits them from having at their disposal all information which is known to the police. Planning studies are undertaken and important decisions made on the basis of criminal data which has been edited.

According to Statistics Canada Crime and traffic enforcement statistics : 1978 (Catalogue 85-205:12), "Because the Toronto Metropolitan Police Force does not apply the multiple offence rule when reporting crime, data comparisons between the Toronto Metropolitan Police Force and other police forces could be misleading." For reasons not made explicit, one of the largest police agencies in Canada has been submitting criminal data to Statistics Canada (for an unspecified period of time) which has not been made subject to such a multiple offence rule - a sad commentary on the uniformity of crime statistics in this country. At least, on this

occasion, the user-community has been warned of this inconsistency by Statistics Canada.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion one would have to be impressed with the significance of the multiple offence rule. It must play an integral and vital role in the uniformity of coding and offence reporting. If it didn't then why would the CACP UCR sub-committee be so insistent that it be used? Why would the police community feel they were not getting "credit" for work being done? Obviously, it is felt this rule plays a significant role in the uniformity of crime reporting in this Country.

In the pages that follow an effort will be made to demonstrate that traditional arguments used for the retention of the multiple offence rule have little merit.

In the Methodology portion of this thesis it was pointed out that a series of audits were conducted of RCMP files throughout the Province. During the course of conducting these audits, specific attention was paid to the frequency of offence situations which would require the invocation of the multiple offence rule. This obviously required that all of the narrative provided about the offence had to be thoroughly read. Out of the sample 1,058 files examined, only 10 investigations were of a multiple offence variety i.e. that could be classified as involving situations where several offences occurred in 1 incident! In other words, .94% of all occurrences in the sample depicted a multiple offence situation. Of these 10 investigations, a total of 27 separate offences were noted. It should be reiterated at this point that the sample was drawn from Criminal Code categories and did not include traffic matters. There is no doubt that the

frequency of multiple offence situations would have been higher (because of the volume of combined offences of impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer) had traffic categories been utilized.

Typical circumstances of these multiple offence situations were as follows:

(1) A youth was intoxicated in a public place, pulled a knife on a clerk in a store and assaulted him.

(2) An individual was arrested for impaired driving. He was returned to the police station where he refused to comply with a demand to take a breath test. He then tipped over the breathalyzer resulting in his being charged with Obstruction.

(3) A female was dragged into some bushes and raped. She was later kidnapped.

(4) RCMP members responded to a disturbance. When they arrived an individual was arrested but during the course of effecting this arrest he was charged with resisting arrest and a second person (a friend) was charged with obstruction. During the course of the investigation two other people were found to be responsible for some damage caused during this disturbance. One of these individuals was responsible for extricating his friend from lawful RCMP custody and was accordingly charged. In total, 6 criminal charges were preferred against 4 people.

The last example was a rare situation in terms of complexity compared to other multiple offence situations. The average number of occurrences per multiple offence situation was 2.7.

On the basis of this information it follows that both

Statistics Canada and the CACP have grossly exaggerated the importance of the Multiple Offence Rule. Admittedly, only Criminal Code (non-traffic) files were used. Had traffic files been examined the incidence of multiple offence situations may have been slightly higher because of the numbers of offences involving both impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer. In terms of Provincial Statute and Federal Statute infractions, however, there is no reason to suspect the frequency of these situations is any greater than in the Criminal Code (non-traffic) areas.

Given the insignificant numbers of multiple offence situations, why have those involved in Uniform Crime Reporting been so adamant in terms of its use? One can only speculate. Given the reluctance on the part of the police community to accept the use of this rule, its retention could not be justified on the sole basis of the statistical probability of its use. Certainly there has been little research of this sort undertaken in an effort to identify just how often these occurrences arise.

Another factor which must be considered is that scoring rules are formulated and modified by people who are removed from the day to day operational demands of police personnel. These individuals are not (and cannot) be expected to be well acquainted with the intricacies of crime recording. They generally have support people to look after matters such as UCR. Their obvious concern must be that they not jeopardize historical statistical data - data they must use in their day to day operational decisions.

Since the police community, Statistics Canada, the media, etc., use Criminal Code categories as an indicator of crime in

society, little seems to be served by the retention of the multiple offence rule. Indeed, if less than 1% of occurrences fall within the parameters of this rule, little effect would be felt if its use was abolished entirely. In short, there should be no serious disruption of data but certainly, greater consistency and uniformity would ensue.

It was mentioned earlier that decision-makers must use data which is constrained by the multiple offence rule. Since less than 1% of the incidents fall into this category, there are few crimes they will be denied statistical access to. No contradiction exists between the fact that policy makers are being denied access to criminal statistics and the fact that only a very small proportion of offences are unknown to them by virtue of this rule. The point being made is that these people deserve to be in possession of all information respecting crime. While the amount of information being lost to them is not great it is still important. Further, as mentioned, the frequency of this type of situation may well be greater in those categories which include Criminal Code traffic.

1. Coding Exercise #1

Coding exercise #1 was formulated to depict an example of a multiple offence situation but one that was not the same as the example provided in Paragraph 3.12 of the UCR Manual. This example describes a situation in which a disturbance has occurred in the lobby of the local hotel. Two males are arrested for fighting. The desk clerk informs the police that during the course of the disturbance two females ripped a pay phone off the wall. The women are also arrested but put up considerable resistance. This exercise

provides an excellent example of what was referred to in the Introduction to this Chapter wherein the citation of numerous authority paragraphs was discussed. Of the 20 respondents completing this exercise, a total of 34 authorities were used - virtually all of which differed. This effectively renders a coherent and meaningful discussion of this aspect of the survey results nearly impossible. Accordingly, this brief analysis will center on (1) the specific UCR classifications used in coding this incident and (2) the number of offences coded by the respondents. (The results of this are presented in Appendix N.)

The following UCR classifications were used by the respondents to this question: (4)

- 16 used 063 (Disturb the Peace)
- 7 used 073 (Other Criminal Code)
- 5 used 071 (Wilful Damage - Private)
- 4 used 072 (Wilful Damage - Public)
- 3 used 068 (Obstruct public peace officer)
- 2 used 017 (Other Assaults)
- 2 used 015 (Assault Police)
- 1 used 059 (Other Criminal Code - Total)

This coding example was calculated to be fairly specific during its formulation stage. The respondents were told that both men were charged with causing a disturbance while the two females were charged with both wilful damage and resisting arrest. With one exception, the variety of UCR classifications used is astounding. The exception here relates to the offence of wilful damage i.e. the females ripping a pay phone off the wall. The responses indicate a

virtual split in classification choices between wilful damage private and wilful damage public. Obviously the respondents were unable to decide if such a phone was private property (i.e. belonging to the hotel) or if it was public property. In order to assess the propriety of these classifications, the UCR Manual was consulted. According to Paragraph 4.75, "Wilful Damage Private - s. 387 CC., 388 C.C., (Include Mischief) Code 071". Paragraph 4.76 on the other hand indicates "Wilful Damage Public - s. 387 C.C., 388 C.C. (Include Mischief). Code 072." Clearly, this Manual does not assist the coder to any extent at all in understanding (for statistical purposes) the difference between damage to personal property versus private property and the Criminal Code does not make any such distinction. Conceivably this lack of direction will have serious implications for other coding decisions involving damage to property such as schools, government and public buildings, office structures, and so forth.

Paragraph 4.14 of the Manual provides a clear authority in dealing with cases of resisting arrest. This rule states that "Assault - Police Officer s. 246(2)(a) C.C. - Code 015. (To be all-inclusive regardless of degree, i.e. wound, bodily harm; assault and resist arrest)." On the basis of this authority, then, classification code 015 should have been used by any respondent coding this particular offence. It can be observed that only 2 respondents used this classification. It is interesting that of the numerous authorities cited by the respondents none of them used Paragraph 4.14 - even the two who did use classification code 015. It is clear that the majority of the respondents used such classifications as 073 (Other Criminal Code); 068 (Obstruct public peace officer); 017 (Other

Assaults) and finally 059 (Other Criminal Code Total).

This latter response invites specific comment.

Classification code 059 is a "Total Line", i.e. it represents the summation only of specific offences recorded in the various detail lines immediately below it. Offences are not to be coded to any "Total Line".

Apart from clear differences in the classifications used, substantial differences also exist in the number of offences coded. As has been indicated, this coding example was formulated as a multiple offence situation in accordance with Paragraph 3.11. It was felt that by placing the words "You interview the desk clerk who advises that during the course of this disturbance....." that this would impress upon the respondents that only 1 larger disturbance had taken place. The number of offences coded can therefore be summarized as follows:

Three respondents (15%) coded only 1 offence. These would be the individuals who did perceive this to be a multiple offence situation. There was no agreement, however, on which offence would represent the most serious in accordance with Paragraph 3.11. One respondent felt that 068 (Obstruct public peace officer) was the most serious. Another felt 017 (Other Assaults) was the most serious offence while the third felt 063 (Disturb the Peace) was the most serious. None of the respondents coding only 1 offence scored this incident to 015 (Assault Police) which would be consistent with Paragraph 4.14 quoted above.

Ten of the respondents (50%) coded two incidents. Two each utilized classification codes 063 and 015, 063-071; and 063-068. The

remaining respondents coding two offences used classification codes 063-059; 063-073; 063-017; and 063-072.

The remainder of the respondents (7 or 35%) coded 3 offences. Of these, 3 utilized codes 063, 072, and 073; 2 used 063, 071 and 073; and 1 used 063, 068, and 071 with the remaining respondent using 073, 072, and 073. (It will be noted that this individual used classification code 073 twice in coding this incident.)

Even the most superficial examination of Appendix N will reveal that even further alarming differences exist - this time with respect to the coding sequence. It is imperative that this sequence be looked at to determine the specific number of charges that would have been preferred by the respondents. This detail would certainly be of interest to any user of criminal statistics.

Those 3 respondents viewing this situation as a multiple offence (15%) only showed a total of 1 "Reported" offence which is not surprising. However, 8 of the respondents (40%) coded 2 "Reported" offences while 6 respondents (30%) coded 3 separate "Reportable" offences under the Criminal Code. Of the remaining 3 respondents, 1 indicated he would code 4 separate offences while 10% (or the remaining 2 respondents) would have coded a total of 6 separate offences arising out of this incident.

After reading the above summary and examining Appendix N, it goes without saying that there is a shocking difference in the coding apparent in virtually every area - from the classification chosen to the total number of offences that would have been coded. While coding exercise #1 is very similar to the Multiple Offence

example in Paragraph 3.12(a) and while it seems to fall within the definition of a Multiple Offence in Paragraph 3.11, only 3 of the respondents coded it as such. Of those who did, there was no agreement as to which was the most serious.

This lack of consistency appears throughout the entire spectrum of responses to this coding exercise. The reason for this is quite unclear given efforts to ensure the similarity of this example with the multiple offence example in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. It is possible, however, that given this small probability of a multiple offence situation occurring, respondents may lack experience in the recognition of and the coding of such incidents. This may also explain some of the diversity found in the coding results. Given this small probability of a multiple offence situation from the auditing undertaken, and given the diversity with which respondents coded this example, it is perhaps most fortunate that such occurrences do not occur more frequently. To any user of criminal statistics, the results of this coding exercise will be extremely disturbing.

As a result of the above discussion and accompanying coding exercise, the following recommendations must be made:

RECOMMENDATION #7: Greater specificity is required in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual with respect to the coding of offences of wilful damage.

Based on the results of this coding exercise, there seems to be confusion as to what constitutes an offence of wilful damage private and wilful damage public. The direction given police coders

is wholly inadequate since no differentiation is made in the Criminal Code with respect to such a difference.

RECOMMENDATION #8: Greater specificity is required in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual with respect to the proper coding of resisting arrest.

While Paragraph 4.14 is quite concise in its direction, it is amazing that none of the respondents utilized it. Most of those responding to this coding example apparently scored this incident to either Other Criminal Code (073) or to Code 068 (Obstruct public peace officer). It is therefore recommended that if Statistics Canada wish to collect this information under Code 015 then the direction in the UCR Manual for the coding of 073 and 068 should cross-reference the user to Paragraph 4.14.

RECOMMENDATION #9: The use of the Multiple Offence Rule should be abandoned in Canadian crime reporting. It should, instead be substituted with a rule which requires that every offence be scored which results in a charge being preferred.

Pragmatically, it makes very little sense to incorporate a rule such as this one for less than 1% of coding incidents. This rule, as has been mentioned, is extremely contentious. No doubt police agencies are unaware of the very low incident of multiple offence situations but they would undoubtedly continue to demand "credit" for all offences that they investigate. Further, it has been demonstrated that even with the existence of this rule, very few

police contributors utilize it. It was shown that the Toronto Metropolitan Police Force do not. Further, it would appear from the police sample coding example #1 only 3 of them viewed this as a multiple offence situation and even then they all chose a different offence classification as being the most serious.

By formulating the recommendation in this way, it would limit the possibility of coding all offences which might be a danger if the rule were to be lifted altogether. Some confidence must exist with respect to the efficacy of a charge if a peace officer is to take circumstances before a Justice of the Peace or a Magistrate to swear out a charge. Accordingly, it is probably not realistic to suggest that the investigator or the police department will want to jeopardize their reputation by laying charges which would serve only to inflate their statistical picture.

J. Paragraph 3.13

Considerable discussion was undertaken concerning the Multiple Offence Rule. Related to this rule is the one contained in the above-noted Paragraph. According to 3.13, "Where offences which are scored on separate forms (Form C & T) become known to the police at the same time, the most serious offence is to be classified on each form. Offences listed on Form C, Crime Statistics and Form T, Traffic Enforcement Statistics are scored separately and in accordance with the multiple offence rule. The most serious offence is to be classified on each form e.g. an impaired offender found to be in possession of a stolen credit card is arrested while driving a stolen automobile. The theft of the automobile only should be scored on Form C. Driving while impaired should be scored on Form T."

This section appears to be quite clear and straightforward. The difficulty with it, however, is that the relationship between this section and the multiple offence rule is not clear. The Uniform Crime Reporting Manual unfortunately does not provide any type of "hierarchy" of coding rules so that user requirements would be facilitated. Further, this section is not cross-referenced in any way with Paragraph 3.11 nor is 3.13 identified as any type of exception to the more general multiple offence rule. Without these features, a contradiction in coding rules is the consequence. Paragraph 3.11 indicates that only the most serious offence should be scored in instances where several offences occur with a common set of circumstances. A couple of paragraphs later, this manual states just the opposite i.e. that two offences can be scored albeit on different UCR Forms. It is this type of situation that would make the auditing of UCR files for accuracy impossible.

An effort was made via coding example #6 to assess the extent, if any, of confusion between the provisions of Paragraphs 3.11 and 3.13. This exercise describes a situation in which a vehicle is followed at a speed in excess of 160 kilometers per hour. The driver of the offending vehicle forces several vehicles off the road. When the vehicle is stopped a loaded revolver is found under the front seat. Subsequent checks reveal this weapon is not registered. Further, the vehicle being operated in this case has been stolen. It was originally hypothesized that if an appeal was made to Paragraph 3.11 then only one offence in total would be recorded statistically. On the other hand, if authority paragraph 3.13 was used, then the most serious offence would be coded on each of Form C and T.

As mentioned in the Introduction to this Chapter, in most cases rather than a single best authority being provided by the respondent, many were given. While in most cases this does not constitute an insurmountable problem in the summarization and tabulation of the survey results, this is particularly unfortunate in the case of this coding example. This methodological difficulty will severely limit any summarization of this data.

From an examination of Appendix 0, it appears as though only 1 Respondent (5%) appealed to authority Paragraph 3.11 and coded only 1 incident. In this case, the Possession of Stolen Property was scored (041), which is the most serious offence. The largest majority of those responding (12 or 60%) coded two offences. The authority paragraph 3.13 was used by 8 (40%) of the respondents, however, as will become apparent from an examination of the noted Appendix, this authority was often used in conjunction with Paragraph 3.11. Only an inference can be made that Paragraph 3.13 constituted the best authority. It is interesting to note that 3 respondents (15%) used authority paragraph 3.11 (Multiple offence rule) with no mention of Paragraph 3.13 and still coded 2 offences.

It would be extremely risky to comment much further on this coding situation given the importance to this particular example of specifying a single authority paragraph. It is possible, however, to summarize the proportion of respondents coding given volumes of offences. As mentioned, only 1 respondent coded a single offence. A further 12 (60%) respondents coded two offences with substantial differences in them. For example, 7 respondents (35%) coded the offence of Stolen Property (041) on the Form C and Code 113

(Dangerous Driving) on the Form T. Four other respondents coding 2 offences used the following classifications:

1 used 041 and 114 (Dangerous Driving - Provincial Statute)

1 used 057 (Restricted Weapons) and 114

1 used 057 and 116 (Impaired Driving)

1 used 027 (Theft of an Automobile) and 113 (Dangerous Driving)

Finally, 7 (35%) of the respondents coded 3 offences which is contrary to both Paragraph 3.11 and 3.13. The UCR classifications used are the same as the ones above i.e. 041, 057, 027, and 113.

This represents a very mixed set of responses to either summarize, draw inferences from, or on which to make recommendations. It does seem clear, however, that tremendous confusion exists with respect to the use of Paragraph 3.13. It is most difficult to assess whether the problem lies in the Manual itself, with the particular authority paragraph, or, indeed with the apparent lack of familiarity on the part of the police coder with the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. The diverse results obtained should not preclude the formulation, however, of the following recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION #10: A hierarchy of coding rules is required in order to alleviate the contradiction that presently exists between Paragraphs 3.11 and 3.13 of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.

Even if Paragraph 3.13 could be identified (in the explanation that is provided in 3.11) as being an exceptional situation the user community would be in a much better position to

both understand and ensure compliance with existing rules of scoring.

K. Coding exercises based on no clear authorities

1. Conspiracy

The incident depicted in coding example #5 was based on an offence which occurred in the Province of Alberta in 1979. It describes a situation in which two male adults are attempting to have a business partner murdered. Subsequently they are charged with conspiracy to commit murder. For purposes of this example, however, the circumstances have been altered slightly.

As a result of this incident, the problem surfaced that the UCR Manual contained no specific instructions on how the Criminal Code offence of "Conspiracy" was to be coded, i.e. to which classification. According to Paragraph 4.77 of the Manual, "Other Criminal Code offences. Code 073. Include all other offences under the Criminal Code that are not specified in offence listing, except traffic offences." The list provided does not mention conspiracies therefore it would seem that the appropriate classification would be under UCR code 073 - Other Criminal Code.

Statistics Canada was subsequently queried and their advice sought respecting the proper coding. It was indicated verbally that the offence of conspiracy was to be scored in accordance with the rule for "Attempted" offences. That is, Paragraph 3.4 states "Column 2 - 'Reported or Known to Police' (include unfounded offences) Subject to the following rules score: (1) Offences, (2) Alleged offences, and (3) Attempted offences. These offences are to be reported in the month they become known to the police...." In

other words, an attempted break and enter would be coded as a break and enter or an attempted rape would be coded as a rape, and so forth. It is not known if this advice has ever become an official Statistics Canada policy since no written direction was ever forwarded to the police community in this instance. Without the benefit of Statistics Canada verbal advice, the appropriate classification code would be 073. With the benefit of their verbal opinion, however, the proper classification would be 006 - Attempted Murder. When it comes time to undertake an interpretation of criminal data the possession of this verbal opinion would make a substantial difference.

In terms of the responses to this example (which are summarized in Appendix P), 12 respondents (60%) coded this incident to classification 073 - Other Criminal Code Offences. Of this group, 5 cited Paragraph 4.77 (quoted above) as the single best authority while 4 indicated that they could not find any authority. Two other respondents used different authorities to arrive at this coding decision while a lone respondent indicated that he would not attempt to code this situation. This was the only coding example this individual did not attempt. Classification Code 006 - Attempted Murder was used by 7 of the respondents (35%). Various authorities were utilized in this coding decision. Clearly, a dichotomy exists in the way respondents coded this incident.

Two of the respondents used Paragraph 3.10(a) as their single best authority. This states that "Offences are scored either by victim or by incident i.e. (a) Offences against the person e.g. homicide, sexual offences, assaults, etc. (offence classification

codes 001-017) and kidnapping (offence classification code 066) - COUNT ONE OFFENCE FOR EACH VICTIM. e.g. Where one person murders three persons, count three murders; however, where three persons murder one person, count one murder."

The foregoing is a very general rule but does not, of course, provide specific direction as to how a conspiracy should be coded. Additionally, while there is not a large volume of conspiracies to commit murder, the merit of placing such incidents into a category with offences of Attempted murder (i.e. where an overt act was committed with serious injury to a victim) seems inappropriate and intuitively wrong.

Two respondents used Paragraph 4.6 as their authority for classifying this incident to 006. This particular paragraph simply describes and provides an authority for the coding of Attempted Murder but there is no mention whatsoever of an offence of conspiracy. Additionally, one of these respondents coded 2 offences with 2 people charged.

It is interesting to note that two respondents to this question used the identical authority (Paragraph 3.23) but coded this incident to two different classifications (073 and 006). This Paragraph suggests that "When scoring offences 'cleared by charge', it will be helpful to remember:

(1) a number of offences may be 'cleared by charge' when only ONE PERSON is charged;

(2) SEVERAL PERSONS may be charged with one offence."

While this Paragraph is certainly appropriate to the coding example under discussion it is hardly the most specific as is evidenced by

the two different classifications resulting from its use.

It is clear that respondents to this question are divided in the offence classification they used. Additionally, some 6 respondents (30%) either did not code this incident or coded it to the classification they felt appropriate simply on the basis of intuition. It seems only reasonable therefore to infer from this that the lack of an existent clear instruction on conspiracies may be a contributing factor to this lack of certainty.

As a result of the foregoing discussion, the following recommendation is made:

RECOMMENDATION #11: Specific instructions should be incorporated into the UCR Manual respecting the proper offence classification to be used in the case of an offence of conspiracy.

Conspiracy to commit murder is only one of several types of conspiracy referred to in the Criminal Code of Canada. It is contrary to criminal law to conspire to commit any indictable offence, to induce a woman into committing adultery, to import narcotics, and so forth. While the offence of conspiracy to commit murder is regarded as very serious under the law, one should not take too narrow an approach to this issue. That is, it seems desirable to find an equitable solution as to how all offences of conspiracy should be coded and not just conspiracy to commit murder. Because of the tremendously broad scope of this offence, an additional suggestion is herewith being made:

RECOMMENDATION #12: A careful examination is required to assess the efficacy of incorporating a special detail line under each appropriate offence classification for the purpose of measuring offences of conspiracy.

Implicit in this recommendation is the suggestion that from a methodological perspective some idea must first be obtained with respect to the volume of such offences. At the present time there is simply no way of knowing this information since, as has been shown, respondents are divided on how to classify this offence. If existing rules of scoring were to be followed then such offences would be placed in the "Other Criminal Code - 073" category and it would be impossible to identify them among all the other offences also coded here. Certainly for only a few offences nationally the merit of this recommendation would be reduced; but on the other hand, many offence categories (such as drugs) would likely have a substantial number of such incidents. Before any intelligent decisions could be made one way or the other some idea is first required as to the specific volumes involved.

2. "Buys of Opportunity"

The above expression is used to signify purchases of narcotics by an undercover policeman "when the opportunity arises". That is, it may be suspected that narcotics are being sold out of a particular residence. An undercover policeman will subsequently present himself at the door to determine if he can purchase drugs. This particular operational requirement represents a great deal of difficulty in the coding of narcotic offences - difficulties that have definite implications for the eventual use of published criminal

statistics.

According to the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual, each individual purchase of a narcotic would constitute a separate and distinct operation. According to Paragraph 3.9 of this Manual, "Offences not directly occurring in a single incident should be counted separately". In order to be consistent with this rule each individual purchase of a narcotic should be counted and scored if these purchases occurred on different times and days.

Difficulty is encountered in the coding of these incidents, however, since a decision is usually made to proceed with only 1 such purchase for court purposes while the other "buys" are used to corroborate the incident that is processed in the courts. The efficacy of the scoring rules in a case like this has been challenged by the police community with the major concern being that there may be an unconscious effort on the part of police personnel to "run-up" the statistical appearance of their unit. That is, more "buys of opportunity" may be made than are necessary for this corroboration simply to reflect a more "desirable" statistical picture. This would have serious implications for resourcing requirements.

With knowledge as to the anomalous nature of this procedure in terms of statistical coding, scoring example #9 was formulated. This example describes a situation in which an undercover policeman purchases narcotics from a known drug dealer. Two separate purchases were made but the police charge this individual with only 1 offence of trafficking in cannabis. The results are illustrated in Appendix Q. Based on this data it appears as though confusion does exist in the coding of such incidents. It may be that the UCR rules

are confusing to coders in that according to the rules governing "Property" offences, each offence should be coded if different times and places are involved. On the other hand, many of those coding this incident seemed to interpret this as being a Multiple Offence situation. Of the respondents to this question, 10 (50%) coded 3 offences while the remainder only coded 1 offence. The specific manner in which these offences were scored, however, does differ. All of the respondents used the same classification code (088) with the exception of 2 who indicated code 084 (Trafficking in Other Drugs) as being proper. Why this particular classification was used is not clear since 088 (Trafficking in Cannabis) is certainly the most specific.

This error in classification can easily be overlooked as some type of recording error. Before this assumption is made, however, some consideration should be given to an additional possible explanation. In some years the RCMP has used a "weighting" mechanism in assessing crime for resourcing purposes. This system is rather simple and consists of multiplying the number of total offences in given categories by an assigned weight. For example, the total homicides in a year might be multiplied by 9, the total liquor infractions by 1, and so forth. The lower the UCR classification, the higher the point value assigned reflecting the additional work time required on more serious offences. A total "weighted" index is arrived at which was then divided by the available manpower. These figures were then rank-ordered in a list with the Detachments appearing near the top being accorded priority vis-a-vis manpower requirements.

As a result, there may be a tendency for errors in reporting to be consistently made in lower UCR classifications i.e. in categories which will be multiplied by a larger figure in an effort to secure additional resources. No suggestion can, of course, be made that this is what is being witnessed here.

Great differences also exist in the way in which respondents cleared offences - either "by charge" or "otherwise" and the manner in which "persons charged" data was handled. It is interesting to note that while the coding example specifically stated that the female charged was juvenile, some 25% of the respondents (5) coded this information under the "Adult-female" category.

On the basis of the detail in Appendix Q, a perfect dichotomy exists in the manner in which respondents handled this coding example statistically. In order to facilitate uniformity and consistency in this regard the following recommendation is required:

RECOMMENDATION # 13: Specific instructions are required in the coding manual with respect to the proper procedure to be followed when statistically recording "buys of opportunity."

The Manual seems clear in its application to "buys of opportunity" i.e. if an offence occurs at different times and places, each offence should be coded. On the other hand the respondents to the questionnaire were divided in their approach. A brief paragraph should be added to the Manual which states that "buys of opportunity" should be treated no differently than any other property offence in terms of coding.

L. Adjustments to Returns

Paragraph 3.2 of the Manual indicates that "The original offence stands even though the offender is subsequently charged with or convicted of a lesser offence". On the other hand, Paragraph 8.6 suggests that "In cases where the police uncover further evidence in connection with an offence which has been previously classified, scored and reported to Statistics Canada in a less serious classification the following will apply:

Where the evidence supports a change in classification, the offence and persons charged data are to be deleted from the original classification and scored in the more serious one. (Always report the most serious offence.)"

In brief then what these two rules dictate is that if a charge is reduced in court, the original scoring remains. On the other hand, if a charge is increased then the original entry must be deleted and replaced by the more serious.

These two rules when placed together seem to be quite clear. It was originally hypothesized, however, that by virtue of their placement in the Manual (i.e. at complete opposite ends) that some confusion may result.

In an effort to assess the degree of confusion, if any, coding example #11 was formulated. In this example, an individual has been injured in a fight in the tavern. The perpetrator is taken into custody and is charged with Assault Occasioning Bodily Harm. A few weeks later (after the original U.C.R. data has been reported to Statistics Canada) the victim of this assault dies. The results are

presented in Appendix R. Unfortunately, the physical structure of the questionnaire itself did not facilitate any categorical assessment of the level of understanding on the part of the police coders. The format of the first ten coding exercises was identical. A narrative description was provided at the top of each page while the bottom contained a portion of Form C and T. No narrative was required of the coder except for the entry of the appropriate detail.

In the case of example 11, however, to properly assess the coders' understanding of the requirements, a brief explanation would have been required. This complication was anticipated at the outset. However, it was thought to be most desirable to retain a consistent format with all the questions, but in the case of the final one, additional care would be required in the interpretation of the results. This final exercise, for example, would have required a blank "Adjustment" Form at the bottom of the exercise similar to the Form T and C. Additionally, a Homicide Return would also have been required in this instance. As in the case of the Adjustment Form, this was simply not included in order that consistency of format be maintained. To do so would ultimately have injected bias into the exercise in any event.

The above comments do not entirely preclude an assessment of the degree of confusion that may exist due possibly to the placement of these two sections. An examination of Appendix R reveals that 12 respondents (60%) would have coded this incident (after the individual died) to classification 004 - Manslaughter and they cited as their authority Paragraph 8.6 which is quoted above. This is entirely consistent with the UCR Manual. None of the

respondents cited Paragraph 3.2. While in several instances the specific authority for the decision differed, all but two of the respondents provided an identical coding sequence and classified it the same (i.e. to Manslaughter). Two exceptions have been noted. One respondent coded this incident to classification 003 - Second Degree Murder. The authority for this was cited as Paragraph 2.41 which does not exist. The other respondent provided insufficient detail to interpret what he had done.

By virtue of the placement of these paragraphs, no particular confusion is apparent. It is known however that the RCMP have issued an internal policy to draw to the attention of their coders the illogical placement of these two sections. This will no doubt partially explain the consistent results, as will the fact that this issue is dealt with in any internal UCR training exercises conducted by the RCMP. It seems entirely possible that quite different responses to question 11 might have been forthcoming had a different police agency been asked to complete the same coding exercise. This can only be speculation, however.

Notwithstanding the results obtained, the following recommendation will be made:

RECOMMENDATION #14: The Uniform Crime Reporting Manual should be amended to provide for a more logical placement of Paragraphs 3.2 and 8.6. such that 3.2 follows Paragraph 8.6.

Chapter VIII of the Manual is headed "Adjustment Form". Comments respecting this Form are contained here. It seems only

logical that Paragraph 3.2 be moved into this Chapter resulting in all the appropriate references being placed together.

M. Control Questions

In an effort to gauge the degree of consistency in the scoring of sample offences, two coding exercises were formulated which appeal to what are considered clear and specific instructions in the UCR Manual. One of these was coding example #8. This example dealt with a peace officer coming across an alarm at a bank which was ringing. This exercise was dealt with under Part H. of this Chapter which discussed Paragraph 3.7. It was demonstrated at that time that some 90% of the respondents coded this incident in the same manner. This represents a very high rate of consistency given results of other coding exercises.

The second coding example formulated to act as a control question is coding example #7. This example deals with an individual who is charged after failing the breathalyzer. This is a very common occurrence at any police detachment or station. According to Paragraph 5.15, (Driving while impaired - s. 234. Code 116. Includes offence of driving with more than 80 mgs. of alcohol in the blood . s. 236 C.C." The authority paragraph seems quite clear - code 116 should be used to record offences under both Section 234 C.C. (Impaired Driving) and Section 236 C.C. (Failing the Breathalyzer).

The results of coding exercise #7 are shown in Appendix S. 95% of those responding to this question (19 out of 20) coded this incident the same way and in accordance with the UCR Manual. It should be noted, however, that the best authority indicated by the

respondents did differ slightly. The one exception in this case cited Paragraph 5.15 as the best authority but then classified this incident to code 016 - Assault other peace-public officer. While it appears as though this might have been a simple error in transcription, this entry would ultimately have become an erroneous statistic in a much more serious category if undetected. Clearly a coding consensus to the extent of 95% is very high - especially given most of the divergent results obtained to coding exercises based on less clear parts of the Manual.

N. Coding example #3

In this particular coding example, an offence similar to the previous one is described with the exception that in this case the offence of failing the breathalyzer is combined with the offence of refusing the breathalyzer. Paragraph 5.5 of the Manual stipulates that "MULTIPLE OFFENCES - The multiple offence rule applies only to offences codes 108 - 118. Report all offences 119 - 122." This paragraph provides specific instructions as to the required coding in situations like that described in this example. That is, when these two offences are combined then by virtue of this paragraph, only the most serious offence is to be statistically recorded.

An examination of Appendix T however suggests that this may not be the case. It becomes clear that 5 (25%) of the respondents coded both offences despite rather clear instructions to the contrary. Further, it is known that the RCMP in Alberta have internal policy which points out the fact that both offences are not to be coded - only the impaired driving matter should be scored. Of the

remaining respondents, 11 coded the impaired driving (code 116) as being the most serious offence while 3 coded the breathalyzer refusal as being the most serious. One questionnaire could not be interpreted. The 5 respondents that coded both offences seem to be clearly in error. Questions must be raised, however, respecting the divergent results that appear since 11 (55%) coded the impaired driving as the most serious and 15% (3) coded the refusal. This anomaly seems to require further examination.

The authority paragraph cited (i.e. 5.5) required the most serious offence only to be coded. In the case of both impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer, both offences are equal in terms of the penalties attached. Consequently, which offence should be coded?

According to Paragraph 3.11, "Multiple Offences - Where several offences occur in one incident, score the most serious offence. The most serious offence is defined as:

(a) the most serious one as measured by the maximum penalty allowed by the law;

(b) the offence which is considered the most serious by the police when the penalties are the same;

(c) if you cannot classify by (a) or (b) use the offence which appears first in the offence classification."

In this particular coding example, Part (a) above provides no assistance to the police coder since the penalties are the same. The coder must then move on to Part (b) which is virtually a "carte blanche" to him permitting subjective evaluation. By virtue of (b) part, those 3 (15%) respondents coding just the refusal are just as

correct as those 11 (55%) who coded only the impaired driving. The end result, of course, is that what appears in published crime statistics reflect this subjectivity with local police policies playing a substantial role in resultant statistics.

It is the opinion of a great many police administrators that the offences of impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer are not a multiple offence situation as defined in Paragraph 3.11 since they happen at different times and places. The offence of impaired driving happens on a highway while the refusal occurs at a police station some time later.(5) Hence, both offences should properly be scored.

As a result of the above discussion it is clear that it is not realistically possible to ascertain with any precision how many offences of impaired driving were committed in a jurisdiction nor how many offences of either impaired driving or refusing the breathalyzer were committed. Accurate figures for policy-makers are extremely important in these categories as this detail acts as a barometer of public attitudes. Police departments generally consider the impaired driving matter to be the most serious and the precipitating incident hence, the most important to measure. In fact, many police agencies have issued policy statements to their membership reflecting this (as has been done the RCMP in Alberta.)The question that must be posed then is that if this is the case why do (1) some respondents still code two offences, and (2) why do some respondents code offences of refusing the breathalyzer?

From the above discussion it should become apparent that confusion exists with respect to not only the coding of these

incidents but more especially with the true meaning and interpretation of the resultant statistical information. In the coding example described here, police personnel are completely free to code whichever incident they see fit since to score either is perfectly consistent with the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. It is therefore simply not possible to obtain accurate information respecting the true volumes of either offence since the general public are not privy to what directions police personnel receive by way of internal policies. What becomes clear also is that even if internal policies are known, the coding results apparent in this example demonstrate the diversity that is to be found.

The following recommendation must therefore be formulated:

RECOMMENDATION #15: Statistics Canada should forthwith act to clarify which offence should be coded in instances where offences of impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer are involved.

It is recognized that the problem must really be resolved by the UCR Sub-Committee of the CACP since they have vested authority over this Manual. It is also recognized, however, that Statistics Canada has been given the mandate to effectively manage the UCR program. Additionally, Paragraph 1.11 suggests that this Federal Government agency "will be pleased to answer your queries at any time." Since the great majority of police contributors have no access to the CACP sub-committee it seems only reasonable to suggest that this Federal Department should actively pursue this recommendation. Even if a "Newsletter" were to be issued calling for something as

simple as a reversal of Part (b) and (c) above, greater clarity would be afforded published criminal statistics in Canada.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

A. Traditional Research

As has been demonstrated, no paucity exists in the literature describing empirical explorations of "reported" crime. Traditional research, unfortunately, has been concerned largely with the broader issues in any discussions of criminal statistics. A tremendous amount of concern has existed, for example, about such things as "counting crime-officially", (Nettler, 1978), and the "dark figure" of crime (Skogan, 1977). Such traditional research has concluded that the amount of crime coming to the attention of the police represents only a portion of the total universe of crime. Others would argue (Cressey, 1957; Wolfgang, 1963) that the damage done to crime reporting by the "dark" or "hidden" figures is surpassed only by the damage done to crime reporting by the police not recording all offences that are actually known to them.

Ferracuti, Hernandez, and Wolfgang (1962) have identified many factors which serve in a selective and unpredictable way to reduce the numbers of offences reported to public agencies, as has McClintock (1970). It has been suggested that the "dark" and "doubly" dark area of reported crime has resulted in researchers not knowing just how representative the number of offences known to the police is of the total crime universe. This fact, according to Ferracuti, Hernandez, and Wolfgang (1962:113) "has been clearly recognized as one of the major difficulties of scientific research in

criminology."

Another major concern has been with the validity of criminal statistics. As has been indicated, social scientists began to explore alternate techniques to determine the size of the crime universe thereby assessing the validity of official data. These alternate avenues consisted of such things as victimization studies, confessions of criminality and the like. In commencing these studies the assumption was made that if these different approaches to crime yield basically the same results then the more accessible statistics on crime could be more confidently employed. It was concluded that "It cannot be said that these optional study methods drastically revise official tallies, however. Some of these observations open our eyes to new forms of criminal enterprise, but they do not change markedly the maps of criminal conduct drawn from official statistics....."

(Nettler, 1978:75). Clearly, the statistics submitted on crime by the police community are extremely important - an importance that is not reflected in the nature of the research that has been traditionally undertaken.

Several other issues have tended to preoccupy traditional research. For example, much has been written about such things as qualitative measures of crime (as opposed to quantitative measures) i.e. the seriousness of crime, and about criminal "indexes". This latter subject has no relevance to Canadian UCR as has been pointed out previously. It is clear as Zay, (1963) has indicated, that those offences known to the police constitute the closest available indication of the volume

of crime and delinquency at the local, provincial, and national levels. Consistent with their position high up on the crime funnel, the police agency deals with more offences than does any other law enforcement agency. As the "gate-keepers" of the published criminal data their mandate is indeed onerous.

While the observations discussed above are most insightful, they serve only to articulate part of the problem. Clearly these are serious issues that have been raised - issues which defy any simple solution. The coding results depicted in the previous chapter must be at least equally disturbing. Certainly a good deal of crime evades or is not reported by the police. What has become equally clear is that of the crime that is known to the police a tremendous variation exists (even within the same police agency) as to how crime that is known is processed statistically. It is both important and interesting to know how much crime goes unreported but surely the scoring variation evident in what does become reported is of equal or greater importance. Yet this matter has traditionally been neglected in empirical efforts. Published statistics are utilized by a vast number of users and form the basis of important and necessary decisions. Clearly, the preceding chapter has identified not only serious omissions, constraints, and limitations respecting the acquisition of criminal statistics in Canada but it also demonstrates serious problems with the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.

This thesis has undertaken to examine uniform crime

reporting from a substantially different and unique perspective. Rather than conducting research on the broader issues, a more basic and focused approach was used. If the coding document itself contains inconsistencies or vague areas then these should be identified and corrected as a necessary first step in any research on crime reporting. Subsequent examinations of the larger issues will then become more meaningful.

Traditional users of criminal statistics have often attached a meaningless caution to their use of the data. This caution is worded in different ways in different circumstances but warns the user about the limitations of the data. In the absence of a quantifiable estimate of variance the data must be used as though it was completely accurate. Important pragmatic decisions must be made daily by the user-community in response to very real issues. Clearly, no better alternative exists. No amount of rhetorical qualifications respecting data limitations will diminish either their importance or their use.

B. Consistency and Accuracy of Coding

As was mentioned in the Methodology Chapter of this thesis, a series of "audits" was undertaken at some 13 RCMP Detachments throughout Alberta. In all cases the sampling procedures used were identical as were the file categories examined. Based on the actual perusal of over 1,000 files, "error" rates were calculated. These rates of error ranged from 6% to 66% with the average being 23%. Because of the problems identified earlier respecting audits, it stands to reason that

these rates of error must be regarded as approximations. After each audit, a meeting was held with those responsible for the coding. If a consensus could be reached that, in fact, particular coding sequences or classifications used were at variance with the UCR Manual then the file was considered to have been coded erroneously.

The variety of responses received to this questionnaire would tend to confirm what is apparent from these audits - that a tremendous amount of error and variance is present in the coding of offence reports. In many cases these errors can be directly contributed to an inadequate coding device. Clearly, much error lies with the individual coders but the responsibility for many of the difficulties with the coding of offences lies with the Manual itself.

If this error rate in fact depicts the overall rate of error for the RCMP in this Province, then of some 78,726 reported criminal code cases reported in Alberta for 1979 (within the jurisdiction of that Force) then over 18,000 Criminal Code incidents would have been coded erroneously. It is important to realize that these errors differ in their impact. In some cases the UCR classification may be wrong while in other cases too few or too many offences may have been coded, etc.

As a consequence of responses to the coding exercises together with the results of the audits, a great deal of concern must exist with respect to the accuracy of what is really known about crime. The coding examples formulated are common offence situations in the police world. Given this commonality and the

fact that tremendous intra-agency variation was found, one can speculate about the responses that would have resulted had this questionnaire been administered to other police departments. The RCMP is only one enforcement agency in Alberta. In this Province formal training in UCR has been conducted. In addition, this department has issued formal, written policy on UCR in an effort to ensure both accuracy and consistency in coding offences. Their training program has been used as a model by other police agencies. Clearly, tremendous intra-agency differences still result. Many police departments conduct no training nor do they have any formal, written policies respecting UCR. It seems likely, therefore, that even greater variation would be found had these agencies been asked to participate in this research.

1. Implications

It is often assumed that since the RCMP do not police the large urban centers of Calgary and Edmonton that the statistical impact of such divergence in coding results will only minimally impact crime statistics for the entire Province of Alberta. As evidenced by Appendix "U", this is far from the case. For the years 1962 to 1977 it is abundantly clear that this Federal agency acting under contract to this Province is contributing an increasing share of crime statistics to this Provincial total. Additionally, Appendix "V" demonstrates that in 1974, the RCMP policed 41% of the total population of Alberta. Continual increases are apparent up to 1979 - increases based on actual census data. This trend was subjected to a linear

regression technique which reveals a continued increase in the proportion of Alberta population which will fall within RCMP jurisdictions. Cities like Ft. McMurray, Red Deer, St. Albert and the hamlet of Sherwood Park (population 30,000) are growing quickly. All of these centers are policed by the RCMP. Further, in recent years the Province of Alberta has established a policy of de-centralization. There is no reason to think that this latter trend will cease. The obvious consequence of this is, of course, that more and more influence on Provincial crime statistics will be felt as a result of RCMP data.

Uniform Crime Reporting typifies what the police community most despises - additional paperwork with no clear and immediate advantage in it for either them, their Detachment or the RCMP. Police agencies may feel that they are overworked and plagued with paper-work. Uniform Crime Reporting, further, may be viewed as being forced on them by a piece of Federal Legislation. Few policemen have been educated in the many uses to which the statistical data are put apart from the very narrow uses of which they may be vaguely familiar with at their own Detachment.

It could perhaps be suggested that the police contributor merely requires additional training in order to increase the accuracy or consistency of coding. It would seem that this suggestion may be somewhat more complex than it appears. For example, Coding exercise #3 describes a situation in which the offence of impaired driving is combined with the offence of refusing the breathalyzer. The UCR Manual was criticized because (1) it prevents both incidents from being

coded (by virtue of the Multiple Offence Rule), and (2) it does not stipulate which of these offences should be coded. Despite rather explicit instructions in the Manual that both offences not be coded, together with internal RCMP policies which reinforce this, 25% of the respondents did code both offences. It is also known that this particular offence combination is dealt with in internal training exercises held by that Force. The most logical conclusion that can be derived from this is that in many cases contributors are simply not as familiar with the UCR Manual as they might be. It is also clear, however, that no amount of training will properly inform them which of these two offences should be regarded as the most serious. This difficulty is inherent to the coding document and no amount of training will preclude the subjectivity involved in the coding of this offence combination.

Despite concerted efforts made by the RCMP in Alberta to train their personnel in Uniform Crime Reporting, because of the transfer policies of that agency this training must be conducted on an on-going basis. Every Detachment commander can have the benefit of a UCR seminar but because personnel are continually being transferred to more senior positions, new and inexperienced (i.e. inexperienced with UCR) personnel are continually being moved into positions of greater responsibility. This situation characterizes every police force doing Provincial Contract work and not just the RCMP.

While additional training is often regarded as a panacea for any police malady, it's value with respect to UCR is

clearly limited as was shown above. Certainly additional training is desirable but realistically it will not be adequate in isolation from necessary changes to the Manual itself. This Manual, as has been demonstrated, is so full of inconsistent or vague areas that little meaningful learning can result from teaching exercises. Those individuals in a position to teach the proper coding rules often find this Manual just as confusing as do their students. For example, a recent RCMP seminar for UCR instructors held in Ottawa met with the same sort of variation found in this research. While human error will always exist, the inherent problems with the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual precludes meaningful instruction.

C. Theoretical Implications

Several theoretical notions have been advanced by researchers which should be discussed - albeit briefly. Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963:134) have suggested that "the question of the theoretical significance of the official statistics can be re-phrased by shifting the focus of investigation from the processes by which certain forms of behavior are socially and culturally generated to the processes by which rates of deviant behavior are produced....Implicit in this proposal is the assumption that an explanation of the behavior-producing processes is also an explanation of the rate-producing processes." Rather than focusing on the content of deviant behavior, the focus is shifted to "societal reactions" which define deviant behavior. Accordingly, "rates of deviant behavior

are produced by the actions taken by persons in the social system which define, classify, and record certain behaviors as deviant." (Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963: 135, emphasis original). If viewed in this manner, behavior which is deviant is organizationally defined by the people in the system producing that rate. A denial of the notion of reporting error follows since criminal statistics are a measure not of deviant behavior but of the actions taken by actors within the particular social system.

In addition to Kitsuse and Cicourel, Skogan (1975) and Seidman and Couzens (1974) suggest a similar position. In the former case the suggestion is made that error can be injected into criminal statistics by organizational and political influences. Seidman and Couzens (1974) indicated similarly that when commanders (i.e. police commanders) are evaluated on their ability to reduce crime, a consistent tendency to under-report or down-grade crime can result.

Little evidence can be gleaned from the present research which will provide either support for or refutation of these theoretical notions. To venture into specific comments on this aspect would be to unjustifiably exceed the study parameters. Some observations and speculation can be advanced but to dwell on this subject will be to leave serious negative inferences and innuendo which would be most unfair to the RCMP.

It has been emphasized throughout this research that all police agencies invariably use UCR statistics to fulfill their own data needs. This is a very important use of this information. The impractical and expensive alternative, of

course, is for each police agency to establish a parallel reporting structure. Perhaps one of the most important uses to which these police agencies put this data is as an indicator of resource requirements. Once this occurs, there is always the temptation for police personnel to attempt to gain statistical "credit" for work done in order to secure additional resources. It would not be surprising then to see crime increase in volume and seriousness preceding requests for manpower - but again, the measurement of any such tendency was outside the scope of this research.

It is tempting, for example, to speculate about the implications that a high rate of "Unfounding" offences (as depicted in Appendix K) would have on resourcing requests. It seems only reasonable that if resources are allocated on the basis of "Reported" crime then those Divisions having the highest rate of "Unfounding" will theoretically secure a greater share of the manpower than they would normally be entitled to.

Secondly, it was demonstrated that some police agencies use a "weighting" system in determining resource allocation. The underlying assumption here is that the more serious the offence (and hence the lower the UCR classification) the more time required to investigate a matter. This will translate into a greater point score of "weight" being assigned. It could be easily argued (but more difficult to substantiate empirically) that such a resourcing system encourages a prostitution of UCR data. What in practice may happen will be that suicides and sudden deaths will be scored as murders. Once the investigation

is completed the original entry will simply be "Unfounded" but this process will still leave an offence of murder "reported". Further, many offences (e.g. a disturbance in a licensed premise, impaired driving, etc.) are specified under both the Criminal Code and the appropriate Provincial Legislation. With the weighting system described above, police coders are tacitly "encouraged" to statistically record the incident under the more serious statute.

It is known that many police departments participate in "Management by Objective" or MBO. According to this philosophy, police personnel will establish clear goals or objectives which they hope to accomplish by the end of the year. The nature of these objectives can cover many facets of policing but generally include a statement to the effect that a concerted effort will be made to control volumes of certain offences, or that volume increases will be held to a certain percentage increase. Because of the nature of police work, many of these goals will be beyond the control of that police detachment. For example, a particular Detachment may set a goal to reduce the incidence of auto theft in their area to 6 offences from the ten they had last year. As a result of a New Years drinking party, they may have 4 or 5 incidents of auto theft reported in the first week of the New Year. This will have clear implications for whether or not they will be able to achieve their goals for that year and hence this will reflect on their perceived ability to manage their Detachment. Clearly, there is much room for speculation. To further pursue this line is unjustified since it transcends the

bounds of the present research. It is clear, however, that this could well be a future area of extremely fruitful research.

The foregoing will provide some insight into the ways in which the various theoretical perspectives presented here could (and perhaps do) impact criminal statistics. Given organizational constraints the temptation would indeed be great to make statistical reports subservient to administrative needs as opposed to fulfilling the function for which they were intended.

D. Conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with Uniform Crime Reporting in Alberta. The title, however, suggests that the results of this research can somehow be generalized to the national situation. Indeed, there should be a complete transference of issues and problems raised about crime reporting in Alberta to the Federal arena. As indicated previously, the Statistics Act establishes the authority for Uniform Crime Reporting and this legislation is Federal. Further, the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual is used across the entire country with identical coding rules. The problems identified in this thesis will no doubt be found to a greater or lesser extent elsewhere in Canada. A lack of a standardized audit manual impacts all police contributors, for example, regardless of their geographical location. Clearly the research conducted using a sample of RCMP Detachments in this Province has application on a much larger scale.

It is often easy to identify problems that might exist in a process such as uniform crime reporting. As has been demonstrated, many problems are inherent in Canadian UCR. It has been shown that much has been overlooked in the traditional examinations. This thesis has set out to explore a problem which is even more fundamental but which has the potential for resolution.

Uniform Crime Reporting in Canada does not have a long history. This system really only goes back to 1962. During this time very little research has been conducted on the system itself. Accordingly, there has been very little change apart from an expansion of measurable crime categories in 1974. The present research clearly demonstrates that such concerted study is long overdue. Unlike traditional efforts which have been content to simply list the problems, this effort has undertaken the formulation of recommendations. Whether complete uniformity in crime reporting will ever exist is doubtful. What is clear from the present effort, however, is that a significant step can be taken towards this ideal by adopting the recommendations as stated. Many other aspects of the UCR Manual require a similar examination. This effort was by no means exhaustive. The present research was conducted on only one police agency in one province. It is essential that a similar study be undertaken on selected other police departments from across Canada to better assess the generalizability of the results obtained. Only with further efforts of this type will meaningful and important changes be incorporated - changes which will serve only to enhance the

consistency and accuracy in the coding of offences that are known to the police.

E. Future Uses of UCR data

The research described in this thesis demonstrates that there are tremendous inconsistencies in the coding of offence situations. Clearly, much of this divergence is directly attributable to inherent deficiencies in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual. In view of this inconsistency it would be tempting to recommend against the use of UCR data. However, since no better alternative to official police statistics exists, such a recommendation would not be realistic.

It seems reasonable to suggest that most users of police statistics assume that since the UCR Manual dictates coding procedures that resultant published data are indeed uniform. Most users would have little, if any, understanding of the types of issues and problems discussed in this thesis. Even if an individual were to become thoroughly familiar with this coding document there are still situations in which varying interpretations of the requirements exist. For example, the instructions in the Manual seem clear vis-a-vis geographical reporting requirements, and yet, this thesis demonstrated that the issue is much more complex than it initially appeared. Further, statistics on impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer are heavily used while the specific difficulties encountered in coding these offences is not well known. It is appropriate, therefore, that (in the absence of necessary change

to the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual,) some suggestions be forthcoming as to future uses of official police statistics.

(1) There would appear to be a clear need to have some type of narrative explanation of criminal statistics accompany published data. Currently, Statistics Canada publications contain a very brief explanation of general scoring procedures. This is totally inadequate. It should be recognized that crime recording is not, in fact, uniform with a brief description being provided which would serve to qualify the published data. It is simply not enough for Statistics Canada to summarize some of the scoring rules since interpretations of these rules often differ with each agency and/or regionally. Where this difference in interpretation occurs, the user-community must be made aware of the specifics in order that any potential impact arising from the use of official data be minimized. By identifying existing deficiencies in this way it would be possible in many cases to accommodate this identified variation. For example, if research were being conducted on the relationship between impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer, it is vital that the true extent of offences of this nature be known. By being aware of the problems in using UCR data a researcher could consider alternate avenues of acquiring this information. On the other hand, some other offence categories may not suffer from these same concerns respecting validity. In the absence of this type of detailed qualification, it must be incumbent upon the user to familiarize himself or herself with local interpretations and to seek out any regional variation that might exist. It is imperative that

empirical conclusions be valid and not simply some artifact of regional coding variation.

(2) A second suggested approach for use in the utilization of official data involves aggregating statistical information. Simply put this notion involves the accumulation of data into larger units to hopefully minimize any negative impact from smaller disturbances in data. This aggregation could take many forms with one of the most important ones being the aggregation of crime into broader categories. For example, wilful damage (private and public), thefts, break and enter, etc. would fall into the more general category of "Property" crimes. Similarly, offences such as rape, assault, and so forth, would be considered to be "Persons" offences. These offence classifications could further be combined into such categories as "Total Criminal Code". By aggregating offences in this way, some of the negative effects that would otherwise be encountered in using data could be avoided.

In addition to combining crime categories, similar negative influences could also be partially controlled if the data were combined by specific police agency. For example, variation might exist within the coding of a small RCMP Detachment but when combined with all such units it may be possible to use this information with more confidence since anomalous coding practices will, at least partially, be compensated for. Similarly, it seems likely that similar efforts would be possible if offence information were to be combined geographically. That is, by using crime information from a large

geographical area as opposed to only segments thereof. Clearly, this should eliminate some of the variation in data that could otherwise be found.

There is no simple solution to the problem of using UCR data. Certainly adherence to (1) and (2) above are only temporary solutions to a problem which requires a permanent answer.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The uniform crime reporting system in Canada should be expanded to include investigative bodies which, at present, do not contribute criminal statistics.
2. The instruction contained in Paragraph 1.9 should be clarified to indicate that "geographical jurisdiction" refers to the smallest geographic area possible. Normally, this will be to the local police detachment or municipal level.
3. The edit package available for use by Statistics Canada should be used to its fullest extent.
4. A high priority should be given to the development of a formal audit/evaluation manual which would standardize the auditing procedure in Canada for Uniform Crime Reporting.
5. The measurement of "Reported" crime be abandoned by the Uniform Crime Reporting System in Canada. Instead, only "Actual" crime should be recorded.
6. Paragraph 3.7 should be amended to include wording to the effect that "alarms which have been accidentally set off through carelessness or mechanical failure are not to be coded on UCR regardless of the manner in which they become known to the police".
7. Greater specificity is required in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual with respect to the coding of offences of wilful damage.
8. Greater specificity is required in the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual with respect to the proper coding of resisting arrest.
9. The use of the Multiple Offence Rule should be abandoned in Canadian Crime Reporting. It should, instead, be substituted with a rule which requires that every offence be scored which results in a charge being preferred.
10. A hierarchy of coding rules is required in order to alleviate the contradiction that presently exists between Paragraph 3.11 and 3.13 of the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual.
11. Specific instructions should be incorporated into the UCR Manual respecting the proper offence classification to be used in the case of an offence of conspiracy.
12. A careful examination is required to assess the efficacy of incorporating a special detail line under each appropriate offence classification for the purpose of measuring offences of conspiracy.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

13. Specific instructions are required in the coding manual with respect to the proper procedure to be followed when statistically recording "buys of opportunity".

14. The Uniform Crime Reporting Manual should be amended to provide for a more logical placement of Paragraph 3.2 and 8.6 such that 3.2 follows Paragraph 8.6.

15. Statistics Canada should forthwith act to clarify which offence should be coded in instances where offences of impaired driving and refusing the breathalyzer are involved.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

(1) The Minutes of the many meetings held at this time and in subsequent years have been graciously provided by Statistics Canada. They will be used extensively in the examination that follows.

(2) This information was kindly provided by Monitoring and Analysis Branch, RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa.

(3) It will be argued presently that while the frequency of these occurrences is not that great, they can still involve a tremendous amount of work.

(4) Since the respondents generally coded more than 1 offence in coding example #1, the summation of these classifications will NOT total 20 as in many other examples.

(5) The Criminal Code stipulates it must be within a two hour time period.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Justice Statistics Division

FORM "A" - POLICE ADMINISTRATION STATISTICS

ANNUAL RETURN

As of December 31

CHIEF OF POLICE,
POLICE DEPARTMENT,

Date submitted		Day	Month	Year
		13	01	9
Signature of head of department				

AREA POLICED AND POPULATION		TRANSPORT						Number
Area in square miles	01	Automobiles						05 4
		Motorcycles						06 1
Miles of public thoroughfares	02	Other motor vehicles						07 2
		Boats						1
Population	03 26,233	Aircraft						
		Horses						
		Police Service Dogs						
FULL-TIME PERSONNEL		Actual strength	Authorized strength	Engagements	Acc. d. crim'y	Police ent. row	Other variations in service	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
POLICE Total	12	34						
Male	13	33						
Female	14	1						
CADETS Total	15	1						
Male	16	1						
Female	17							
OTHER FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES Total	18	5						
Male	19	2						
Female	20	3						
TOTAL FULL-TIME PERSONNEL	21	40						
MISCELLANEOUS								
Persons missing		Reported	Located					
		1	2					
Total	22			Persons drowned				
(a) Adults	23			Motor vehicles stolen				
(b) Juveniles	24			Motor vehicles recovered				

APPENDIX B



Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Justice Statistics Division

FORM "C" - CRIME STATISTICS

CHIEF OF POLICE,
POLICE DEPARTMENT,

Complete and return this copy
Statistics Canada to be en-
closed in the report before
the 15th of the month.

Date submitted: 1 5 02 7 9
Month Year
Signature of head of department

OFFENCES	Reported or known to police	Un-founded	Actual number	OFFENCES CLEARED		PER 5 DAY				
				By charge	Otherwise	Adults charged		Juveniles charged		Not charged
						Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
HOMICIDE* TOTAL 001	2		2	1		1				
Murder, First degree 002										
Murder, Second degree 003	2		2	1		1				
Manslaughter 004										
Infanticide 005										
ATTEMPTED MURDER - TOTAL 006	1		1	1			1			
SEXUAL OFFENCES TOTAL 007	4	1	3	1		1		1		
Rape 008	1		1							
Indecent Assault - Female 009										
Indecent Assault - Male 010										
Other Sexual Offences 011	3	1	2	1		1		1		
ASSAULTS (not indecent) TOTAL 012	7	1	6	3	2	2	1			
Wounding 013										
Bodily Harm 014	3		3	2		1	1			
Police 015										
Other peace-public officers 016										
Other Assaults 017	4	1	3	1	2	1				
ROBBERY TOTAL 018	1		1							
Firearms 019	1		1							
Other offensive weapons 020										
Other Robbery 021										

4-2400-92, 1: 9-9-77

* (See Supplementary Homicide instructions on page four.)

- 2 -

OFFENCES	Reported or known to police	Un- founded	Actual number	OFFENCES CLEARED		PERSONS			Arrested	
				By charge	Otherwise	Adults		Charged	Male	Fem.
						Male	Fem.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BREAKING AND ENTERING TOTAL 022	9	1	8	2	1	1		2		1
Business premises 023	5		5	1				1		
Residence 024	3	1	2	1		1				
Other Break and Enter 025	1		1		1			1		1
THEFT - MOTOR VEHICLE TOTAL 026	3		3							
Automobiles 027	3		3							
Trucks 028										
Motorcycles 029										
Other Motor Vehicles 030										
THEFT OVER \$200 TOTAL 031	6	1	5	1	2				1	1
Bicycles 032	1	1								
From motor vehicles 033										
Shoplifting 034	5		5	1	2				1	1
Other thefts over \$200 035										
THEFT \$200 AND UNDER TOTAL 036	12		13	4	1	1	1		1	
Bicycles 037	1		1	1				1		
From motor vehicles 038	2		2	2	1				1	
Shoplifting 039	10		10	1						
Other thefts \$200 and under 040										
HAVE STOLEN GOODS 041	1		1	1		1				
FRAUDS TOTAL 042	3		3	3		1				
Cheques 043	3		3	3		1				
Credit Cards 044										
Other frauds 045										
PROSTITUTION TOTAL 046	2		2	2			3			
Bawdy house 047	1		1	1			2			
Procuring 048										
Other prostitution 049	1		1	1		1	1			

- 3 -

OFFENCES 1	Reported or known to police 2	Un- founded 3	Actual number 4	OFFENCES CLEARED		WEAPONS			JUVENILES	
				By charge 5	Otherwise 6	Adult charged Male 7	Female 8	Male 9	Female 10	Not Charged 11
GAMING AND BETTING										
TOTAL 050										
Betting house 051										
Gaming house 052										
Other gaming and betting offences 053										
OFFENSIVE WEAPONS										
TOTAL 054	3		3	3		2		1		
Explosives 055										
Prohibited weapons 056										
Restricted weapons 057	2		2	2		2				
Other offensive weapons 058	1		1	1				1		
OTHER CRIMINAL CODE (ex. traffic) TOTAL 059	10	1	9	3	1	6				1
Arson 060										
Bail Violations 061	3	1	2	1		2				
Counterfeiting currency 062										
Disturb the peace 063	4		4	1		2				
Escape custody 064										
Indecent Acts 065										
Kidnapping 066										
Public Morals 067										
Obstruct public peace officer 068										
Prisoner unlawfully at large 069										
Trespass at night 070										
Willful Damage - private 071	2		2	1						
Willful Damage - public 072	1		1		1					1
Other Criminal Code Offences 073										
HEROIN TOTAL 074	1		1	1		1				
Possession 075	1		1	1						
Trafficking 076										
Importation 077										
COCAINE TOTAL 078	7		7	5		2				
Possession 079										
Trafficking 080	7		7	5						
Importation 081										
OTHER DRUGS TOTAL 082	1		1	1						
Possession 083										
Trafficking 084	1		1	1						
Importation 085										

- 4 -

OFFENCES 1	Reported or known to police 2	Un- founded 3	Actual number 4	OFFENCES CLEARED		PERSONS CHARGED				
				By charge 5	Otherwise 6	Adult 7	Minor 8	Male 9	Female 10	Not Charged 11
CANNABIS TOTAL 086	12		12	10	2	8	2		1	6
Possession 087	7		7	5	2	3	2		1	6
Trafficking 088	5		5	5		5				
Importation 089										
Cultivation 090										
CONTROLLED DRUGS - Trafficking TOTAL 091	4		4	4		4	1	1		
RESTRICTED DRUGS TOTAL 092	1		1	1		2				
Possession 093										
Trafficking 094	1		1	1		2				
OTHER FEDERAL STATUTES TOTAL (ex. traffic) 095	3		3	2			2			
Bankruptcy Act 096										
Canada Shipping Act 097										
Customs Act 098										
Excise Act 099										
Immigration Act 100										
Juvenile Delinquent Act 101	3		3	2			2			
Other Federal Statute Offences 102										
PROVINCIAL STATUTES (ex. traffic) TOTAL 103	25	4	21	18	3	1	6			5
Liquor Acts 104	1	1								
Securities Act 105										
Other Provincial Statutes 106	24	3	21	18	3	14	4			5
MUNICIPAL BY-LAWS (ex. traffic) 107	2		2	1	1					
SPECIAL*										
	991									
	992									
	993									
	994									
	995									

SUPPLEMENTARY HOMICIDE RETURN

In view of the importance of homicide statistics, it is requested that the following supplementary information be supplied for all homicides occurring in your jurisdiction. Statistics Canada will send the investigating police force a Homicide Return for completion and return to the Bureau. The names of Victim(s) and person(s) charged must equal the actual number of offences and persons charged as reported for items 002 to 005 - Form 100.

Offence	Date of offence	Location of offence	Victim(s)	Person(s) charged
003	1-1-79	Any Town	Anyone	John D.
003	18-1-79	Any Place	Anybody	

APPENDIX C

Return this copy to D.B.S.

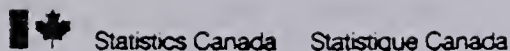
DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS
Judicial Section
FORM "D" - NARCOTIC AND CONTROLLED DRUGS
month of

To be completed and returned
month with "C"

Province		Division		Sub/Division		Date: / /			
OFFENCES 1	Reported or known to police 2	Unfounded 3	Actual number 4	OFFENCES CLE		D	ER	CHARGED	
				By charge 5	Other 6			Juveniles	
								Male 9	Fem. 10
23. Narcotic Control Act									
24. Food and Drug Act (Controlled drugs, barbiturates, etc.)									
Date submitted		Signature							

9003-97.1: 25-8-66

APPENDIX D



Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Judicial Division

FORM "T" - TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT STATISTICS

Complete and return to Statistics Canada on the 15th of the month following the end of the reporting period.

Date submitted: _____
 Day _____ Month _____ Year _____
 Signature: _____ Title: _____

OFFENCES	Reported or known to police	Unfounded	Actual number	OFFENCES BY TYPE		PERSONS CHARGED*	
				By Charge	Otherwise	Male	Fem.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT							
Criminal negligence - causing death	108						
Criminal negligence - causing bodily harm	109						
Criminal negligence - operating motor vehicle	110						
Fail to stop or remain - Criminal Code	111						
Fail to stop or remain - Provincial Statute	112						
Dangerous driving - Criminal Code	113						
Dangerous driving or without due care and attention - Provincial Statute	114						
Fail or refuse to provide sample of breath	115						
Driving while impaired	116						
Driving while disqualified or while license suspended or cancelled - Criminal Code	117						
Driving while disqualified or while license suspended or cancelled - Provincial Statute	118						
						Total * charges	
OTHER TRAFFIC OFFENCES							
Federal Statutes - Include all charges under Federal Government traffic regulations, excluding parking violations	119						
Provincial Statutes - Include all charges under the various Provincial Statutes dealing with traffic, excluding offences 112, 114, 118 and parking violations	120						
Municipal By-laws - Include all charges under municipal traffic regulations and by-laws excluding parking violations	121						
PARKING VIOLATIONS							
Total number of parking violations	122						
TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS							
Number of fatal accidents	123						
Number of non-fatal (injury) accidents	124						
Accidents - property damage \$200 or more	125						
Total number of traffic accidents	126						
PERSONS KILLED							
Number of persons killed							
(a) Driver and passengers							
(b) Pedestrians							
(c) Bicyclists							
(d) Others							
PERSONS INJURED							
Number of persons injured							

APPENDIX E



Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

CONFIDENTIAL

For Statistics Canada use only

FILE NUMBER

Judicial Division

File Number

HOMICIDE RETURN

Date Received

Statistics Act R.S. 1952 c. 257

Calendar Day Doc. No.

INSTRUCTIONS REVERSE SIDE

1. Offence		2. Offence Data		Section		Sub Section		Paragraph	
1. <input type="checkbox"/> Murder	2. <input type="checkbox"/> Manslaughter	3. <input type="checkbox"/> Infanticide	4. <input type="checkbox"/> Criminal Code	5. <input type="checkbox"/> Section	6. <input type="checkbox"/> Sub Section	7. <input type="checkbox"/> Paragraph	8. <input type="checkbox"/> Section	9. <input type="checkbox"/> Sub Section	10. <input type="checkbox"/> Paragraph
3. Location		City - Town - Village - Rural		Country - Township - Municipality		Province - Territory			
4. Date of offence		5. Time		6. Means of offence		7. <input type="checkbox"/> Shooting		8. <input type="checkbox"/> Stabbing	
9. <input type="checkbox"/> AM		10. <input type="checkbox"/> PM		11. <input type="checkbox"/> Suffocation		12. <input type="checkbox"/> Arson		13. <input type="checkbox"/> Not stated or unknown	
14. <input type="checkbox"/> Other		15. <input type="checkbox"/> Strangling		16. <input type="checkbox"/> Drowning		17. <input type="checkbox"/> Other		18. <input type="checkbox"/> Not known	
19. <input type="checkbox"/> Argument or quarrel		20. <input type="checkbox"/> Robbery, theft, etc.		21. <input type="checkbox"/> Self-defence		22. <input type="checkbox"/> Escape		23. <input type="checkbox"/> Inadvertent act	
24. <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual assault or rape		25. <input type="checkbox"/> During commission of other offence		26. <input type="checkbox"/> Mentally ill or mentally retarded (insane)		27. <input type="checkbox"/> Other motive		28. <input type="checkbox"/> Not known	

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Cleared by charge		Specify		9. Court Procedure		Court		Location		Date of known	
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Warrant issued				1. <input type="checkbox"/> Arraignment							
3. <input type="checkbox"/> Cleared otherwise				2. <input type="checkbox"/> Preliminary inquiry							
4. <input type="checkbox"/> Not stated				3. <input type="checkbox"/> Trial							
5. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: specify				4. <input type="checkbox"/> Other: specify							

Name (surname, first)	Address—include city, town, etc.	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Racial Origin
1.		1. <input type="checkbox"/> Male 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Female 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not known		1. <input type="checkbox"/> single 2. <input type="checkbox"/> married 3. <input type="checkbox"/> widowed 4. <input type="checkbox"/> divorced 5. <input type="checkbox"/> separated 6. <input type="checkbox"/> common law	
2.		1. <input type="checkbox"/> Male 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Female 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not known		1. <input type="checkbox"/> single 2. <input type="checkbox"/> married 3. <input type="checkbox"/> widowed 4. <input type="checkbox"/> divorced 5. <input type="checkbox"/> separated 6. <input type="checkbox"/> common law	
3.		1. <input type="checkbox"/> Male 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Female 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not known		1. <input type="checkbox"/> single 2. <input type="checkbox"/> married 3. <input type="checkbox"/> widowed 4. <input type="checkbox"/> divorced 5. <input type="checkbox"/> separated 6. <input type="checkbox"/> common law	
Name (surname, first)	Address—include city, town, etc.	F.P.S. Number	Date of Arrest D M Y		
1.					
2.					
3.					
Name (surname, first)	Address—include city, town, etc.	F.P.S. Number	Date of Arrest D M Y		
1.					
2.					
3.					
Name (surname, first)	Address—include city, town, etc.	F.P.S. Number	Date of Arrest D M Y		
1.					
2.					
3.					

Signature		Date D M Y

APPENDIX F



Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS

For Statistics Canada
Use Only

CONTRIBUTING POLICE DEPARTMENT

Judicial Division

ADJUSTMENT FORM

SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

Please adjust Form _____ for the month of _____ 19____ as noted hereunder.
(Contributors are requested to complete all columns relating to items requiring adjustment.)

FORM "C"

[illegible]

FORM "T"

Offences 1	Reported or known to police 2	Unfounded 3	Actual number 4	Offences cleared		Persons charged	
				By charge 5	Otherwise 6	Males 7	Females 8
TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT							
Other traffic offences						Total charges	
TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS					PERSONS KILLED		
123. Number of fatal accidents					127. Number of persons killed		
124. Number of non-fatal (injury) accidents					128. Driver and passengers		
125. Accidents — property damage over \$200					129. Pedestrians		
					130. Bicyclists		
126. Total number of traffic accidents					131. Others		
					PERSONS INJURED		
					132. Number of persons injured		

(Page continued)

(Signature of head of Department)

132. Number of persons injured

APPENDIX G

36 Markham Cres.,
Sherwood Park, Alta. T8A 3T3
March 28th, 1980

Dear Sir:

I am a regular member of the R.C.M.P. posted to "K" Division Headquarters in Edmonton. At the present time I am completing a Masters degree in Arts (Sociology) at the University of Alberta. In order to complete the degree requirements a thesis is required and I have selected the uniform crime reporting system as my research area. Your detachment has been randomly selected to participate in this research.

Appended you will find a series of offences described which you are being asked to score (code). Brief instructions as to what is required are contained on the next page. It is requested that these situations be coded by the person on your Detachment who is normally responsible for this function. I would ask that the name of the unit responding to this survey NOT be included since it is NOT my intention to use the results of this survey to in any way compare individual units. You can be assured of complete confidentiality in your responses with the returns being destroyed upon the tabulation of data. Individual coding results will be aggregated with every other unit that is being asked to participate. There is, further, no need to identify the name of the coder but I would ask that the amount of experience with coding uniform crime reports be identified in the space provided.

I am aware that many of our Detachments are extremely busy. I do hope, however, that you will take the time to conscientiously complete what I feel is a very important exercise in terms of the uniform crime reporting process. It would be very much appreciated if the attached exercises could be completed and returned to my residence by April 21st. This will permit ample time to properly complete the attached project.

Your co-operation is very much appreciated.

INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

Please complete the following:

EXPERIENCE OF CODER WITH U.C.R.: _____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

Authority

In the exercises that follow choose the best single paragraph from the Uniform Crime Reporting Manual which acts as your authority in arriving at your coding decision. If you think 2 or more paragraphs apply equally, these should be so indicated. Indicate the paragraph number(s) in the space allotted on either the Form C or Form T provided. Be sure to enter the coding sequence in its entirety just as you normally would on the correct C or T Form. If no authority exists or cannot be found in the U.C.R. Manual please indicate this in the authority column next to the scoring sequence you have provided.

Classification

Indicate the proper UCR offence classification to which you would code this incident adjacent to your entry in the space provided.

Form C & T

Abbreviated duplications of UCR Forms C and T are provided with each offence description. Ensure your entries are made on the correct form. In some cases you may wish to enter data on only 1 form while in other instances you may wish to code the circumstances on both or neither forms. Should you choose to enter no data on either Form, please draw a line through the sample Form C and T and make a notation to the effect that this incident would not be coded on UCR. Again, if applicable, quote the best UCR paragraph or paragraphs which support your decision. This will ensure that the exercise was simply not missed.

Coding Exercise #5

During the course of an investigation into a major business fraud you discover that 2 adult males involved in a financial transaction are conspiring to have a third partner (an adult female) murdered. An under-cover policeman is employed and sufficient grounds exist to charge these two partners with conspiracy to commit murder.

If appropriate code this incident and quote the U.C.R. paragraph which would best serve as your authority for any coding decision you might make.

FORM "C"

[illegible]

FORM "T"

[illegible]

Coding Exercise # 10

A complaint is received at the police station that a disturbance is in progress at a particular address. A house party has gotten out of hand with loud music and shouting now coming from the street in front of the house.

A patrol is made to that address but no evidence of a disturbance could be found since everyone had now gone from this residence and the lights were out.

If appropriate code this incident and quote the U.C.R. paragraph which would best serve as your authority for any coding decision you might make.

FORM "C"

[illegible]

FORM "T"

[illegible]

36 Markham Crescent
Sherwood Park, Alberta
T8A 3T3

27 May 1980

Dear Sir:

Several weeks ago I sent you a questionnaire on Uniform Crime Reporting. The results of this survey are intended to form a vital part of my research in this area. To date, this questionnaire has not been received from your Detachment.

Needless to say the completion of these coding (scoring) examples are absolutely essential to me in fulfilling the thesis requirements for a Master of Arts degree. Additionally, this research may well have important implications for the Uniform Crime Reporting process in Canada.

The questionnaire should not take that long to complete. While I am well aware that Detachments are busy I very much hope you will take the time to conscientiously complete what is a very important exercise in terms of the Uniform Crime Reporting Process.

It would be appreciated, therefore, if the questionnaire could be completed by June 6th, and returned to my residence.

Your cooperation would be very much appreciated.

APPENDIX "H"

Detachments Surveyed

<u>Separate</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Jasper	Whitecourt
Boyle	Morinville
Viking	Swan Hills
Breton	Bonnyville
Thorsby	St. Paul
Beiseker	Drayton Valley
Lake Louise	Vermilion
Bow Island	Brooks
Magrath	Drumheller
Nanton	Okotoks
Taber	Cardston
Assumption	Pincher Creek
Faust	Grande Prairie
McLennan	High Prairie
Camrose	Valleyview
Forestburg	Olds
Sundre	Ponoka
<u>Mannville</u>	

n=35

APPENDIX I
Coding Exercise #4

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
1	4.13	014	1		1		1					
1	3.27 3.28 3.29	017	1		1		1					
2	----	017	1		1		1					
1	3.29	012	1		1		1					
1	4.16	017	1		1		-					
3	4.16	017	1		1		1					
1	4.16	014	1		1		1					
1	4.13	014	1	1								
1	3.17 3.29	014	1		1		1					
8	3.17	WOULD NOT CODE										

20=n

APPENDIX J
Coding Exercise #10

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
1	3.15	063	1	1								
1	----	063	1	1								
1	4.67	063	1	1								
1	3.17	071	1		1							
1	3.4	063	1		1							
1	----	063	1		1		1					
1	3.19	063	1		1							
1	3.4(2)	073	1		1							
1	4.67	107	1		1							
1	3.17	063	1	1								
<u>10</u>	WOULD NOT CODE											
20=n												

APPENDIX K

% UNFOUNDING BY MAJOR OFFENCE CATEGORY

DIVISION	C.C. PERSON			C.C. PROPERTY			OTHER C.CODE			TOTAL C. CODE		
	1977	1978	1979	1977	1978	1979	1977	1978	1979	1977	1978	1979
Newfoundland	9.0	10.4	11.3	10.0	11.6	12.7	7.4	9.4	8.9	9.0	10.6	11.1
Manitoba	16.7	17.8	17.6	15.1	16.2	16.2	14.1	14.2	14.0	14.9	13.7	15.5
B.C. (E-1)	11.8	12.3	11.0	9.1	8.9	10.5	9.4	8.9	8.4	9.4	9.2	9.9
B.C. (E-2)	14.4	13.6	12.0	12.7	12.5	12.1	11.7	12.5	10.1	12.5	12.6	11.4
Saskatchewan	15.9	15.2	13.2	14.4	13.6	14.5	10.2	9.4	9.7	13.3	12.4	12.8
N.W.T.	14.9	18.4	15.2	17.3	18.8	18.8	13.4	14.5	13.7	15.5	17.2	16.7
Nova Scotia	10.0	9.2	11.6	11.0	13.6	13.0	9.2	10.1	10.5	10.1	11.7	11.8
N. Brunswick	17.4	14.9	14.4	13.7	12.0	11.9	13.4	12.0	10.9	13.9	12.3	11.7
ALBERTA	14.2	12.4	12.0	14.5	13.7	13.3	11.5	10.3	9.9	13.4	12.4	12.0
P.E. Island	24.8	17.9	9.9	15.7	13.7	13.5	16.7	11.8	8.1	16.8	13.2	11.0
Yukon	14.6	16.5	16.1	14.9	13.8	13.3	8.2	13.0	9.9	12.8	13.9	12.7
Total RCMP	14.0	13.8	12.6	12.5	12.4	12.6	11.0	11.1	10.1	12.1	12.1	11.8

APPENDIX L
Coding Exercise #8

#Resp	Para	UCR	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
	Auth	Class						M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
18	3.7	WOULD NOT CODE										
1	1.6(3)	021	1	1								
1	3.7	018	1	1								
<hr/> 20=n												

APPENDIX M
Coding Exercise #2

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
13	3.7	WOULD NOT CODE										
3	3.15	019	1	1								
	3.16											
	3.17											
1	----	WOULD NOT CODE										
1	2.11	WOULD NOT CODE										
1	4.20	021	1	1								
1	3.7	018	1	1								

20=n

APPENDIX N
Coding Exercise #1

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
2	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		015	1		1	1			2			
1	---	068	1		1	1			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		059	2		2	1			2			
1	---	063	2		2	2		2				
		068	2		2	2			2			
		071	2		2	2			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		073	1		1	1			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		017	1		1	1			2			
1	---	017	1		1	1			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		071	1		1	1			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		072	1		1	1			2			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
1	---	063	2		2	2		2				
		071	2		2	2			2			
1	---	073	1		1	2		2				
		072	1		1	2			2			
		073	1		1	2			2			
1	---	063	2		2	2		2				
		071	2		2	2			2			
		073	2		2	2		-	-			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		071	1		1	1			2			
		073	1		1	1		-	-			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		068	1		1	1			2			

APPENDIX N
Coding Exercise #1

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		072	1		1	1			2			
		073	1		1	1			2			
2	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		072	1		1	1			2			
		073	1		1	1		-	-			
1	---	063	1		1	1		2				
		068	1		1	1			2			

20=n

APPENDIX 0
Coding Exercise #6

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
1	3.11	041	1		1	1				1		
	3.13	113	1		1	1				1		
1	3.11	041	1		1	1				1		
1	3.13	041	1		1	1		1				
	5.1	113	1		1	1		1				
1	3.11	041	1		1	1				1		
	----	113	1		1	1		-		-		
1	3.11	041	1		1	1				1		
	5.5	114	1		1	1				1		
1	3.11	057	1		1	1				1		
	3.13	113	1		1	1				1		
1	----	041	1		1	1				1		
		113	1		1	1				1		
1	3.11	057	1		1	1				1		
	3.13	116	1		1	1				1		
2	3.13	041	1		1	1				1		
	3.11	057	1		1	1				1		
	3.13	113	1		1	1				1		
2	3.11	041	1		1	1		1				
	3.13	113	1		1	1		1				
1	3.13	027	1		1	1				1		
	----	113	1		1	1				1		
1	3.11	041	1		1	1				1		
	5.12	113	1		1	1				1		
1	4.44	041	1		1	1				1		
	4.27b	057	1		1	1				-		
	3.37	113	1		1	1				-		
1	----	041	1		1	1				-		
		057	1		1	1				1		
		113	1		1	1				1		
1	----	041	1		1	1				1		
		057	1		1	1				-		
		113	1		1	1				-		

APPENDIX 0
Coding Exercise #6

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	Adult		Juvenile		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
1	3.37	041	1		1	1				1		
	3.37	057	1		1	1				-		
	5.13	113	1		1	1				1		
1	4.61	057	1		1	1				-		
	4.43	041	1		1	1				1		
	5.12	113	1		1	1				-		
1	3.11	113	1		1	1		1				
	3.13	041	1		1	1		1				

20=n

APPENDIX P
Coding Exercise #5

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
2	3.23 3.22	073	1		1	1		2				
4	-----	073	1		1	1		2				
5	4.77	073	1		1	1		2				
2	3.10a	006	1		1	1		2				
1	4.6	006	2		2	2		2				
1	3.23	006	1		1	1		2				
1	-----	006	1		1	1		2				
1	3.32	073	1		1	1		2				
2	4.6	006	1		1	1		2				

1 (not completed)
20=n

APPENDIX Q

Coding Exercise #9

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
3	---	088	1		1	1					1	
1	---	088	1		1	1			1			
1	---	088	1		1	1	2		1			
1	---	088	1		1	1					1	
		088	1		1		1					1
		088	1		1		1					1
2	---	088	3		3	3					1	
2	---	088	1		1	1					1	
1	---	088	1		1	1					1	
		088	1		1		1					1
		088	1		1		1					1
1	---	088	3		3	1	2				1	
1	---	084	3		3	1	2				1	
1	---	088	3		3	1	2		1			
1	---	088	3		3	3			1			
2	---	084	3		3	1	2				1	
1	---	088	1		1	1			1			
1	---	088	1		1	1					1	
1	---	088	3		3	1	2				1	

20=n

APPENDIX R
Coding Exercise #11

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
12	8.6	004	1		1	1		1				
1	2.41	003	1		1	1		1				
1	4.18	004	1		1	1		1				
1	8.1	004	1		1	1		1				
1	4.3	004	1		1	1		1				
1	3.37	004	1		1	1		1				
2	----	004	1		1	1		1				

1 (could not be interpreted)

20=n

APPENDIX S
Coding Exercise #7

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
14	5.15	116	1		1	1		1				
1	3.10	116	1		1	1		1				
1	5.15	116	1		1	1		-				
1	5.5	116	1		1	1		1				
1	5.1	116	1		1	1		1				
1	----	116	1		1	1		1				
1	5.15	016	1		1	1		1				

20=n

APPENDIX T
Coding Exercise #3

#Resp	Para Auth	UCR Class	Rep	Unf	Act	Chg	Oth	<u>Adult</u>		<u>Juvenile</u>		
								M	Fem	M	Fem	Inf
5	-	115	1		1	1			1			
		116	1		1	1			1			
11	-	116	1		1	1			1			
3	-	115	1		1	1			1			
1	COULD NOT BE INTERPRETED											
<u>20</u> =n												

APPENDIX U
CRIMINAL CODE OFFENCES
R.C.M.P. ACTIVITIES IN ALBERTA 1962-1977 (1)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ACTUAL NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF CRIMINAL CODE WITHIN R.C.M.P. PORTION OF ALBERTA</u>		<u>% CLEARED</u>
1962	9,206	52,908	17.4%	49.5
1963	9,989	57,740	17.3%	44.9
1964	11,623	60,953	19.1%	41.7
1965	8,743	57,144	15.3%	51.0
1966	14,891	67,686	22.0%	45.0
1967	18,103	75,429	24.0%	47.3
1968	20,178	83,726	24.1%	44.3
1969	24,243	93,242	26.0%	46.7
1970	29,648	109,402	27.1%	44.7
1971	32,501	116,075	28.0%	45.4
1972	35,648	117,881	30.2%	47.3
1973	39,791	124,627	31.9%	48.2
1974	45,769	127,650	35.9%	44.0
1975	51,231	152,421	33.6%	45.0
1976	57,306	163,414	35.1%	47.0
1977	63,383	166,797	38.0%	51.0

(1) Exclusive of Criminal Code Traffic

APPENDIX V

PROJECTED POPULATION
(By Linear Regression Analysis Method)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R.C.M.P AREAS</u>	<u>% of Alberta</u>
1980	2,062,188	900,959	43.68
1981	2,124,699	936,180	44.06
1982	2,187,209	971,401	44.41
1983	2,249,720	1,006,622	44.74
1984	2,312,230	1,041,843	45.06
1985	2,374,741	1,077,064	45.36
1990	2,687,294	1,253,170	46.63
2000	3,312,400	1,605,382	48.47

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